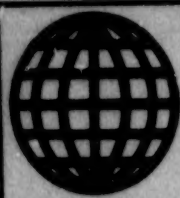


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5 APRIL 1990



**FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-90-021

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EEC Plans Sanctions Against Israel

44230097B Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Financial Supplement) in Hebrew 26 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by Moriah Avnimelekh]

[Text] A week ago the European Parliament in Strasbourg recommended that scientific and technological relations with Israel be suspended. This week, the Commission rejected the feelers of Minister of Energy Moshe Shahal for relations in the energy sphere. Israel's ambassador to the European Community, Avi Primor, said: "There will be new decisions against us every month, and of increasing severity. The Parliament will pressure the Commission, and the Council of Ministers will not be able to withstand it, even if it wants to."

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] What happened in Strasbourg?

[Primor] What happened in Strasbourg is the tip of the iceberg. For a long time, anger and bitterness have been building up against us over several issues. The first one is the diplomatic subject. The European Parliament has the feeling that we are demonstratively belittling Europe's diplomatic role. The European Parliament is getting stronger and is flexing its muscles, and it is interested in also taking an active role in Middle Eastern affairs. The second issue is the honoring of agreements. The Commission (which is the governing body) has been letting on to the Parliament that Israel is not honoring agreements, and if that is the case, then there is no reason for the Europeans to honor their agreements with us. We have lost our credibility as to the honoring of agreements, even when we comply with them, such as on the subject of exports from the territories.

The third issue is respect for human rights. European members of Parliament have visited the territories and the impression builds up. The fuse that lit the barrel of gunpowder was the Peace Now demonstration in Jerusalem, on 30 December. A female member of the European Parliament, the Italian Valento, testified before the Parliament that she was dragged by her hair, struck, and kicked, and put in a police car despite her cries that she was a member of Parliament. The policemen spit on her passport, and forced her to open her mouth and spit in it. Others testified. The Italians played a role in the decision to recommend to the Commission that scientific and technological ties with Israel be suspended. The Italian Foreign Minister told me that the behavior of the government on 30 December caused more damage than any other event in the two years of intifadah.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] What is the significance of the decision?

[Primor] It is a recommendation. The Commission is not obligated to cease activities. But the atmosphere is hostile. Thus, when Shahal came to Brussels to talk about relations in the field of energy, the Commissioner for Energy Affairs, the Portuguese Cardozo—who, by the

way, is a great friend of Israel—announced to him that there was nothing to talk about. The significance of the decision of the Parliament is the loss of a significant amount of funds for science, a lot more than the \$2 million at the moment.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] What can we do in order to stop the drift?

[Primor] I will not suggest how to conduct foreign policy, but we must intensify the diplomatic dialogue, which might soften the European position towards us. Without doing that, we will not arrive at an improvement in the economic agreements and legislation against the Arab embargo, which are vital in order to balance our trade account, to attract European investments, and to join in the "1992" process.

Prospects for Israeli-USSR Economic Ties

44230097A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ
in Hebrew 4 Feb 90 p 1C

[Article by Avraham Tal]

[Text] At a press conference that was held last week in Tel Aviv, Dani Gillerman, the president of the Union of Chambers of Commerce, Moshe Zanbar, the chairman of the board of directors of Bank Le'umi, and Dr. Ya'akov Cohen, the assistant director general for economics in the Foreign Ministry, reported sensational news about what is expected in the developing trade relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. Among other things, they announced joint projects, including one for manufacturing an Israeli-American-Russian airplane, behind which stand the great capitalists Armand Hammer and Robert Maxwell.

The land was not given to those of little faith, and, therefore, we must not doubt the truth of the tidings coming to us from the three worthy men, who have behind them not a few "Soviet Union hours" in recent months. The most veteran of them is Gillerman, who announced as early as a year and a half ago the desire of the Russians to do business with Israel, and even mentioned the goods that they wished to purchase: new technologies in agriculture, chemicals, drugs, and various industrial products. Since then, everyone who considers himself someone in the Israeli business world has visited Moscow for business purposes, but the business itself is taking its time to bloom.

It would be nice and useful to hear, for example, that the Soviets are working towards implementing the flight agreement that was concluded some time ago by representatives of El Al in Moscow (the Soviets dragged out this agreement under the pressure of Arab states even before the Prime Minister came out with his declaration about "a big Israel"). What about the Israeli-Soviet company for establishing agricultural projects, called Agromir, which we were told about in '89? And let us not forget the minister of agriculture, who at the end of '89

signed an export agreement for 90,000 tons of agricultural produce to the Soviet Union, and reported on a tentative date for the departure of the first shipment: 23 December '89. How many Israeli tomatoes and cucumbers have already improved the vitamin balance of the frozen residents of Moscow?

As of this writing, most of the wonderful agreements with the Soviet Union look like business Potemkin villages in every respect, and the only ones who have clearly profited from the excessive activity of Gillerman and his comrades are Aeroflot and Intourist, the companies that take care of the air and ground arrangements for the enthusiastic visitors from Israel.

Perhaps the day will come when a trinational airplane bearing the symbols of the Star of David, the Hammer and Sickle, and the Stars and Stripes will take off into the Middle Eastern skies (if Maxwell insists on adding the likeness of Her Majesty, why not?). Meanwhile, we would be satisfied with the realization of a few of the more modest agreements that have already been concluded, signed, and celebrated in all the media.

There are certainly important reasons for the fact that the deeds in this sphere lag so far behind the words. But whatever the reasons, the excess patter certainly doesn't help. Therefore, it is recommended to heed the advice of a widely known expert on trade relations with the Soviet Union: "With those countries (Eastern Europe), publicity only interferes" (HA'ARETZ, 15.8.88). Who gave this advice? None other than the maker of some of the most sensational declarations on the subject—Dani Gillerman.

Israeli-Soviet Aeronautics Deal Negotiated

44230097C Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 28 Jan 90 p 5

[Article by Arye Arad

[Text] A plan is crystallizing in the Israel Aircraft Industries for integrating Western engines and Israeli avionics in Soviet-made civilian airplanes. DAVAR's reporter has learned that this is one of the central subjects under discussion with the Soviet economic delegation, which arrived in Israel on Thursday. The director general of the

Aircraft Industries, Moshe Korat, may accompany Assistant Prime Minister Shim'on Peres on his visit to the USSR, if it indeed takes place.

It appears that a three-way deal is involved between the Israel Aircraft Industries, the Soviet aeronautics industry, and one or both of the two businessmen Robert Maxwell and Sha'ul Eisenberg. The two have already been in the USSR for a discussion on this subject.

The Soviet airplanes are sold at a very low price in comparison to Western airplanes, but they are of inferior quality. Their engines are noisy, they consume much more fuel than is acceptable in the West, and the level of pollutants that they emit is much higher than the Western standard. Soviet technology lags behind in the use of composite materials and aeronautical electronics. Soviet industry also lags far behind in modern mechanized and automated production methods, and most of the production is manual.

But despite their low price, Soviet civilian airplanes cannot be sold in the West without being upgraded to the accepted standards in Europe and the United States. Standards for safety, noise, and pollution are being raised on both continents, and Western passengers will not want to fly on airplanes that do not ensure a satisfactory level of comfort and quiet in flight.

The installation of Western engines in Soviet airplanes involves changes in the airframe and new avionics. In existing airplanes, they apparently will use engines and avionics of the previous generation, which are suitable for metal fuselages. On this subject, the Aircraft Industries are likely to bring in Beit Shemesh Engines and, through it, the American manufacturer Pratt and Whitney, which holds a 40-percent interest in it.

Afterwards, the Aircraft Industries may plan far-reaching modifications in the airframes, including the replacement of metal wings with wings made of composite materials, perhaps in cooperation with an American manufacturer such as Grumman, which designed and manufactured the wings for the Lavi. This would make possible the use of modern Pratt and Whitney engines and modern Israeli avionics, including radar manufactured by Elta.

Diaspora Parties Appeal to USSR Supreme Soviet
46050013C Paris GAMK in Armenian 29-30 Jan 90 p 1

[Telegram to the USSR Supreme Soviet by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Social Democratic Clarion Party and the Democratic Liberal Party]

[Text] The Armenian people have been experiencing grim days of insecurity across the Transcaucasus for nearly 2 years. The critical situation that has been created in Soviet Armenia and, particularly, Soviet Azerbaijan is of the deepest concern to the entire Armenian nation.

As you are well aware, the well-founded and just demand of the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of that region, stems from a natural and legitimate desire to rectify an arbitrary arrangement ordered by Stalin and to return that territory, which has been the victim of a policy of discrimination for 7 decades, to its Motherland. In the face of this demand, the authorities of Azerbaijan have resorted to acts of mass terrorism which outdo all previous instances of vandalism.

The killings, massacres, prolonged economic blockades and the recent guerrilla warfare activities, which began with the well-known incidents in Sumgait and which have continued in Baku, Kirovabad, Karabakh and the nearby Armenian-populated regions, form consecutive links in a general chain of planned hostility which threatens to turn into a new, modern-day genocide committed against the Armenian people in those territories.

Unfortunately, the central authorities of the Soviet Union refused to acknowledge and to crush, early on, these racist acts which go beyond mere interethnic hostilities and which betray aspirations to revive ancient pan-Turanist dreams. It should not be forgotten that every failure or delay to expunge each act committed against human and national rights and life in its infancy constitutes an encouragement for the repetition of genocidal acts, which is the only way to describe what is being done to the Armenian people across Soviet Azerbaijan.

We can assure you that Armenia and the Armenian people have never harbored and do not harbor now any religious or racial hatred or prejudice against the people of Soviet Azerbaijan with whom they are destined to live and coexist in the same geographical region.

Deeply concerned by the aforementioned provocations by the Azeris, the central bodies of the three Armenian national parties strongly condemn, on behalf of the entire Armenian Diaspora, the barbaric acts committed by the authorities and agitated mobs of Soviet Azerbaijan and demand from the central authorities of the Soviet Union that they take the most decisive steps to restrain these excesses and to bring to justice and to punish their authors and perpetrators; and that, as a final solution of the Karabakh problem, they put an end to the

dependence in any form of the territory on Baku which has proven in the last 70 years to be incapable of governing the region within the framework of respect for human, civic and national dignity.

Today, each Armenian is deeply convinced that the only way to avoid the grim fate of Nakhichevan—which has lost its entire indigenous Armenian population—is to annex NKAO [Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and Armenian territories which remain populated by Armenians and which have been separated from NKAO to Soviet Armenia to which they belong by historic, cultural, economic, social, linguistic and many other ties.

Openness and restructuring, which opened a new era of true humanitarianism and democracy for the peoples of the Soviet Union, cannot ignore this unanimous aspiration and demand of the Armenian people, which has been the first to welcome this development inside the Soviet Union and across the world and which, despite its disillusion, continues to hope that this enlightened new page of history cannot be opened without doing justice to a nation which has been wronged as severely as the Armenian people.

In these conditions, we can assure you that all Diaspora Armenians are prepared to contribute with all of their diverse means—in science, high technology, finance, communications and other areas—to the advancement and prosperity of Soviet Armenia which is the Motherland of more than 2 million Armenians dispersed across the world who consider themselves true citizens of that homeland.

Bureau of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Central Administration of the Social Democratic Clarion Party Central Administration of the Democratic Liberal Party

25 January 1990

Organization of 'Volunteer Army' Detailed

46050013B Paris GAMK in Armenian 25 Jan 90 p 3

[Report by Apo Boghikian]

[Text] Yerevan—Every evening, speakers at Liberty Square make public announcements after reporting the day's events and analyzing the political situation.

"Former inhabitants of Getashen should assemble around the Sayat Nova statue at 8:00 pm."

"Former inhabitants of Chartakhlu should assemble around the Tumanyan statue at 6:00 pm tomorrow."

Meetings of this type are held all over Armenia region by region, organization by organization and factory by factory. During the meetings, men volunteer as soldiers in the Armenian army—the Armenian people's army—to defend their homes and places, their homeland, honor and dignity.

Armenians to arm!

There are no arms, but there is Armenian ingenuity. There is faith and conviction. With those, means of self-defense are created.

Having lost its faith and confidence in the Soviet army, the Armenian nation wants to create its own force to assure the security of its children against the bloodthirsty Azeri hordes.

For a brief period, especially during the initial hours of the beastly massacres in Baku, it appeared that this most recent crisis of the Armenian nation would be overcome by pannaional efforts and a concerted and harmonious collaboration between the government and the people. The creation of a Defense Commission by the Armenian Supreme Soviet and the inclusion of popular representatives in that body inspired hopes of concerted action. Unfortunately, however, as soon as the Soviet authorities toughened their demands and instructions, Armenia's party and government officials yielded, became intimidated and withdrew completely from this work leaving the field to the popular movement. The movement gradually took control of the situation, initially on intuition but later in a more organized manner.

First, the Getashen and Shahumyan fronts were secured by concentrating the best portion of available resources in those regions.

Then command centers were created which assumed the task of registering volunteers, forming detachments, arming them with available weapons and sending them to the front.

Various steps were taken to procure weapons and munitions. Through negotiations, the authorities in some regions returned confiscated hunting rifles to their owners. In many regions, the arsenals of police stations were seized, primarily by local forces, and the weapons were distributed to the volunteers sent to the front.

The logic of the events of the last 2 years has convinced the Armenian individual that weapons and an army are necessary. This is why the people watch with resentment and concern the activities of the Soviet forces, particularly in Artsakh, Gedashen, Shahumyan and Goris. Armenians will never consent to turning over their weapons, the assurance of their security, to Soviet forces wherever they are, in Yerevan or Gedashen. The anti-Armenian crimes and assaults that are being committed before the eyes of the Soviet soldiers have made it clear to the ordinary Armenian that disarmament is equivalent to death and the loss of everything. One hopes that the Soviet authorities and army commanders understand this disposition of our people and refrain from attempts to disarm the Armenian people to avoid any bloodshed. The blame for the situation that has been created falls squarely on the Soviet authorities who now have to reckon with combative Armenian masses who have revived the heroic tradition of national liberation struggle and with the modern-day Armenian fedayeen

who have staged new acts of bravery in Getashen, Shahumyan, Artsakh, Kornitzor, Goris, Ararat and other areas.

'Pan-Turkism' Alleged in Baku Riots

46050013A Paris GAMK in Armenian 20-21 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by Kh. Der Krikorian: "Caution: It Is Pan-Turkism"]

[Text] A state of full-scale war exists in Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh and the Armenian communities outside of their borders.

Soviet Azerbaijan has openly declared war against Armenia. It is massacring Armenians in Baku. It has assaulted Getashen, Kamo, Marashid and Azat with the purpose of massacring their inhabitants. It has even violated the borders of Armenia by attacking Khachik, Agarak and other villages. It has taken hostages and has tortured and beaten its captives. It has engaged in unrestrained acts of torture and killing. Moscow, Gorbachev and the Soviet Union have been watching all this, but, out of unknown motivations, they have remained silent, ignored the realities, resorted to equivocal policies, adopted postures designed not to offend the Azeris, distorted the truth with false reporting and declared a state of emergency in Karabakh. When the Azeris massacre Armenians in Baku they unarm the Armenians, thus trampling over justice which has been molested too often.

This inhuman violence and racist acts that the Azeris have perpetrated against Armenia and the Armenian people are a continuation of the policies of the Enver and Talat Pashas to create a greater unitary state called Turania extending from Anatolia to Central Asia and the Altay Mountains.

Pan-Turkism is once again raging in the Caucasus with the difference that the Sultanovs have been replaced with the Vezirovs who are trying to extend their hands over Armenian corpses to the Ozals instead of the Talats.

The war declared by Vezirov, the shaykhulislam and the representatives of the so-called Popular Front is pan-Turkism and nothing else. It is pan-Turkism because the intent of this bankrupt ideology is to obliterate Armenia from the face of the earth and its strategic goal is to annihilate the Armenian people because the Armenian nation, Soviet Armenia and Karabakh remain an interfering element wedged between Azerbaijan and Turkey blocking the unification of the two coethnic peoples.

Now that favorable conditions have been created in the Soviet Union and the opportunity exists to take one more step toward the realization of those goals, why should they sit idle and not take decisive steps? Thus they resort to every method to prevent the strengthening of the Armenian people while gradually advancing their pan-Turkist plans.

In the course of the past weeks when the Turks of Azerbaijan tore down the border posts dividing Soviet Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan from Iran and demanded the creation of a united Azerbaijan by merging Aderbadakan, or Iranian Azerbaijan, with Soviet Azerbaijan and when they declared that this step pursues no religious objectives and that it is of a purely ethnic nature, they were showing their true face one more time. The objective of that quixotic act is the dismemberment of Iran and the establishment of a Turkish empire on lands taken from Iran. Why should those who do not hesitate to rattle sabres over a country like Iran refrain from overrunning small Armenia?

The realities today indicate the revival of pan-Turkism in Turkic lands, regions and communities. Some see a

renaissance in this reactionary movement. Meanwhile, the events in the Caucasus directly prove that Azerbaijan remains the hotbed of pan-Turkism which is always directed against Armenia and the Armenian people. Azerbaijan is the source from which the firestorm of global pan-Turkism may spread and whose first victim would obviously be the Armenian people.

In view of this sad outlook, the Armenian people and the Armenian political mind that leads it must keep up their vigilance; strengthen themselves; bolster our nation's intellectual, scientific, economic and physical capabilities; and overcome the threat of pan-Turkism with a realistic policy.

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Israeli Assessment of Iraqi Military Capabilities

44000254 Tel Aviv BAMAHA
in Hebrew 21 Feb 90 pp 7, 9, 10

[Editorial Report] The Tel Aviv Hebrew-language magazine BAMAHA in its 21 February edition devotes pages 7, 9, and 10 to an assessment of Iraqi military capabilities in the context of Middle East arms acquisitions.

The head of Israeli Air Force intelligence, on page 7, describes Iraq's military cooperation with Jordan as "preparation to return to the competitive arena with the only one who, from their standpoint, is considered an historic enemy—Israel. This cooperation is being conducted in stages and is focused on air power." The intelligence chief notes that a continuing Iraqi presence in Jordan represents "a longer term threat." He also makes reference to the post-Gulf War presence of "dozens of infantry divisions, unnecessary in peacetime."

A second article on page 7 examines Iraqi arms production capability. Iraqi Air Force Commander Maj Gen Muzahat Sa'd Hasan predicts Iraq "will be able to manufacture its own warplanes by next year." BAMAHA cites the Lebanese newspaper AL-DIFA', which reports that Iraq is also seeking to build assembly plants for the French Mirage-2000 and the Alpha-Jet, or the MiG-29.

BAMAHA provides a synopsis of Iraqi air power on page 9:

- Iraq has the largest air force in the Middle East.
- Its acquisitions are principally from France and the Soviet Union.
- It concentrates mainly on air-to-ground and air-to-sea attack capability.
- Its inventory consists of approximately 26 MiG-29's, 30 MiG-25 interceptors, along with a number of MiG-21's, MiG-23's, and Sukhoi-22's.
- It maintains 15 Sukhoi-24 attack aircraft and intends to expand its order of battle to include 48 of these planes.
- It previously acquired 120 Mirage F-1's; only 70 of these aircraft remain following the Gulf War.
- It is currently negotiating the purchase of 50 Mirage-2000's.

Page 9 of BAMAHA also carries an interview with Iraqi Air Force Commander Maj Gen Muzahat Sa'd Hasan taken from the Iraqi newspaper AL-THAWRAH. In the interview, Maj Gen Hasan explains that Iraq is interested in sharing its combat experience with other Arab states through military exercises and coordination in order to confront any future aggression against the Arab homeland. Maj Gen Hasan continues by saying that Israel is "unceasing in its attempts to strike Iraqi

economic installations. The conflict with Israel is characteristic of a struggle between cultures; it is a total conflict. Israel is a parasitic entity, and its continued existence is based on schisms within the Arab homeland and its acquisition of advanced technology and scientific know-how." The air force commander says the number of Iraqi pilots, male and female, has doubled since the close of the Gulf War. Commenting on in-air refueling operations, he says that Iraq has been successful in this field with a number of aircraft, including the Mirage F-1 and the Sukhoi.

On page 10 of BAMAHA, Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin comments on the Middle East arms race. Rabin notes that the arms race is accelerating in the area due to the Soviet Union's need for hard currency and willingness to sell to Middle Eastern states, and due to the dismantling of weapons systems between East and West which will leave huge quantities of "leftover weapons," some of which will reach the Middle East. He cites the transfer of M-60 and M-1 tanks to Egypt as an example.

Arab Talks With Soviets Advised To Stem Jewish Emigration

900A0389A Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI
in Arabic 12 Feb 90 p 3

[Article by Salah Muhammad Ibrahim: "The Emigration of Soviet Jews or the Crime of the Age; 950,000 Soviet Jews To Go to Israel This Year; Solution to Problems of Perestroika Lie in Washington's Hands"]

[Text] The most dangerous effects of Gorbachev's earth-shaking perestroika and glasnost on the Arab region may not be the pluralistic and liberal tendencies which have spread throughout the East European continent. This outcome, I and others think, does not concern us much at this stage of our national development, because our circumstances and our historical development are quite different from those of East Europe and the Soviet Union. We live in a part of the world that is still in the process of becoming emancipated from colonialism, domination, and attempts at economic and cultural containment. We live in a part of the world whose regions and territories are still being plundered and whose rights are still being forcibly seized by Zionism. And Zionism is supported and financed by the liberal West which provides it with all the means it uses to oppress and attack a cherished part of the Arab homeland in occupied Palestine.

Although it is dazzling and attractive, we must not be dazzled by the liberal aspect of perestroika and glasnost. We must not allow it to distract us and take our attention away from the crime of the age, as it has been called by author Ahmad Baha'al-Din. The crime of the age is an issue that must move our emotions and attract our attention. It is an issue to which we must pay attention, and we must devote all our time and our effort to it. Perestroika and glasnost, which opened the doors of

freedom wide to the countries of East Europe, seem to be opening the doors of misery and hell for us. It seems that perestroika and glasnost will increase the suffering of Arabs and Palestinians because they are making it possible as never before for Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel. The danger which may result from such a crime may lie in the fact that there are 3.3 million Soviet Jews who are educated, have advanced technical degrees, and are expected to emigrate. Opening the doors for the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel was an item on the agenda of the 1989 Malta Summit meeting where Washington and Moscow made a number of mutual deals. Washington would export the services and hamburger meals of the well known store, McDonald's Restaurant, which opened in Moscow. In return, Moscow would export Soviet Jews, and it would use American funds to export Soviet Jews to Palestine, not to Washington.

Zionist circles expect that in the next five years they will be able to bring approximately 950,000 Jews to Palestine. This year alone, 100,000 Jews are expected to come to Israel. Ever since Israel started making preparations for this major crime, Jewish agencies began collecting contributions and assistance immediately. Most of these contributions are expected to come from the United States and from Jews in the United States because the United States, which is willing to pay all costs, is not willing now to open its doors to all these Soviet Jews. In the past, most Jews who left the Soviet Union preferred going to the United States, but U.S. immigration quotas and rates are such that American society cannot take in and absorb such large numbers of Soviet Jews. That is why Jewish agency offices are now telling Jews coming from the Soviet Union that they can go nowhere but to Israel.

For Moscow, the immigration of Soviet Jews from the Soviet Union will relieve Moscow of a population surplus it can do without, especially at this time when Soviet society is afflicted with a food shortage.

The new Soviet leaders believe that they need assistance from the West, particularly after the total failure of Marxist theory to solve economic and livelihood issues became evident. Yes, the Soviet Union did conquer space, and it does have intercontinental missiles, but by many standards the Soviet Union is still a backward country, particularly in some areas which are related to the computer industry and to some military industries such as manufacturing aircraft carriers. Economic scarcity and the black market have also become decisive ingredients in Moscow's markets. There is evidence as well that crime has grown and that trafficking in weapons has become widespread. All these are dangerous indicators for a socialist society. To relieve the pressure on the state, no objections would be made to the immigration of large numbers of Soviet Jews. Leftist writers here believe that Gorbachev is a courageous man who is still walking in Lenin's footsteps. To prove their point they cite what Gorbachev said in 1986 when he said that "All the revolutionary parties which collapsed met their demise because they became arrogant, they

failed to examine their own credibility, and they were afraid to talk about their weaknesses. Our party will not die as long as we remain unafraid to talk about our weaknesses. We will learn to overcome those weaknesses."

What Gorbachev said reiterates what Lenin had said previously, but it seems that each one of the two men has his own interpretation and his own understanding of these words. There is no doubt that there is a big difference between the two men, but perhaps the best thing that can be cited in comparing the two men is each man's understanding of the Communist Party's monopoly over power.

Restructuring the Soviet state was being considered because the economic circumstances and changes which are expected in Europe after 1992 dictated such consideration. In 1992 Western Europe will be united politically and economically, and the Soviet Union will then be facing a new superpower besides the United States. The Soviets will find themselves facing a new economic giant. Instead of bucking heads with Washington only, Brussels will emerge as the capital of a new superpower. This will be happening at a time when approximately 50 million Soviet citizens are suffering from poverty and from not having the necessities of life. Development in military technology and military superiority are no longer important because according to the policy of peaceful coexistence and the reduction of international tension, the real field of conflict between countries now is the economic field.

At a time when Soviet citizens are facing hardship and frustration, the West did manage to achieve high averages of economic superiority and prosperity. Soviet citizens, even in the capital, still stand in long lines to buy the necessities of life. They have become accustomed to suffering, and they have been patient for a long time, but their patience is starting to wear thin, and they are getting tired of waiting for the theory to yield results. Gorbachev may have realized that the time had come for Moscow to get rid of all economic burdens which have been restraining and holding back its progress. He may have realized that if he wants to take a big step forward or achieve an economic miracle, he would have to please the West—Washington first and then western Europe, which is about to be transformed in front of him into a frightening economic giant. Moscow had to reduce its burdens and its defense expenditures in the Soviet Union and in East Europe. That is why it encouraged these countries to disobey and to rebel against all Marxist beliefs. Moscow forced these countries to find new allies for themselves and a new power that can help them. Poland, which was the first country to rebel, got a \$700 million loan from the IMF. Such a reward awaits all those who follow in Poland's footsteps. Even Moscow can win such a reward. All that is required of Moscow to please the West is allow multiple parties to operate and allow people to exercise their freedom and their human rights. All these matters had been forbidden in the communist world. As understood by the Americans, the

concept of human rights means first of all opening the doors and allowing Soviet Jews to immigrate.

The U.S. position on the immigration of Soviet Jews has been clear and unequivocal. Since 1974 the United States has refused to give the Soviet Union preferential status in matters of economic trade, clearly linking the immigration of Soviet Jews to the repeal of any restrictions on trade with Moscow. It seems that when he was at the Malta Summit, Gorbachev promised he would repeal those restrictions, but diplomatic observers noticed that since Gorbachev came to power, he has been taking advantage of opportunities to express his wishes that relations with Israel be changed. Some communist countries, like Poland and Hungary, have exchanged consular representatives with Israel. Also, many meetings were held between Soviet officials and Israeli officials in Europe. It is now believed that more than one-quarter million Soviet Jews have received exit visas from the Soviet Union and that, except for a few thousand who can be taken in and absorbed in Europe and the United States, the others have nowhere else to go but Israel.

The immigration of Soviet Jews is a dangerous matter because most, if not all of them, want to immigrate. And when they do, they will double the Jewish population in Israel, and that, undoubtedly, will harden Israel's position and make it take a stronger stand on continuing its occupation policy, particularly since it is refusing to give unequivocal assurances that it will not use the occupied land to settle the Jews coming from the Soviet Union. The crime of the age that we are facing is a crime that is being perpetrated by three countries. Our problem in the Arab world now is that of confronting this crime by using the economic weapon, which is the same weapon that drives and guides the world today. We must not start blaming others and crying and moaning about what is happening because that approach will do us no good. It seems that the Soviet Union has decided to follow a new approach in its international relations, an approach that does not depend upon ideological alliances, but rather on economic interests. What we have to do is evaluate our relations with the Soviet Union, using the same method and the same approach. We must also review our economic and trade interests and relations with western countries, starting with the United States. We want to stop this deluge of immigrants from Moscow. We must start talks with Moscow based on interests. The Arab League did well when it adopted the notion of sending a delegation to Moscow to discuss the matter.

Soviet airplanes carrying Jews have actually started arriving in Israel. These airplanes are flying directly from Moscow, and they are making no transit stops in Europe. This is the first time Moscow has permitted such a mode of travel for Soviet Jews. The United States, acting under pressure from Jewish groups, put emphasis on the easy terms it was giving the Soviet Jews. Gorbachev is acting promptly to please Washington because he wants to save perestroika, which is facing many difficulties due to growing criticism within the party. Perestroika is facing

many difficulties also because of the ethnic problems that emerged and because of the economic difficulties which Moscow is facing. The Arab world's relations with the countries of East Europe and Moscow are due for a change. Israel is trying to take advantage of the climate of new changes and the movement of East European countries toward the West. Delegations from Czechoslovakia and East Germany have started coming to Israel. The leader of East Germany stated that he was willing to pay compensation to the Jews for what was done to them by the Nazis. These are funds which will be used to build new settlements for the Jews on Palestinian territory.

The Arab world has to be circumspect about this international conspiracy. Arab countries have to work together and to coordinate their policies, their interests, and their relations with these countries. Arab unity is the only road we can take, and integration on all political and economic levels is the only way. We must pursue a realistic policy, and we must move beyond the narrow constraints of selfishness and narrow regional interests so we can emerge as a cultural power that can confront the challenges and the issues of the age.

Arab Action To Discourage Jewish Immigration Discussed

90AA0014A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI
in Arabic 21 Mar 90 p 6

[Article by Dr. Muhammad Farraj Abu-al-Nur, researcher and visiting lecturer in higher studies at Cairo University's Information College: "Instead of Waiting for New Israeli Expansion"]

[Excerpts] The danger of the new wave of Jewish immigration is not confined to the demographic map of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, not even to Israel's devouring of the bank and the strip, and to its destroying the efforts being made to achieve a political settlement in the Middle East. [passage omitted]

Expansion Is Coming

The danger of this vast reserve, with its distinguished level of education and specialization, grows bigger when we learn that its numbers greatly exceed the figures mentioned in the official statistics. These statistics estimate the number of Jews in the Soviet Union and East Europe at 2.3 million people. But many Soviet Jews do not mention their Jewish belonging in their personal documents for numerous reasons. [passage omitted]

If we assume that Israel will succeed in making one-half of the Soviet and East European Jews immigrate, then this in itself poses a definite danger to peace in the region. This arriving army must have land on which to settle, water, energy, and so forth. Therefore, expansion will be inevitably required, regardless of whether these immigrants are initially settled in the West Bank or in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1948. The press recently published an extremely significant report about

U.S. Jewish immigrants who are establishing an Israeli settlement in Southern Lebanon.

The fact is that Israel's entirely aggressive conduct and its "national consensus" on extinguishing the Palestinian intifadah [uprising], on immigration and settlement in the bank and the strip, and on devolving the bank and the strip of their population show that the Zionist state does not hold a serious position toward the efforts for a political settlement and that it actually excludes the peace option. Thus, the new immigration wave can only be viewed as the declaration of a new war that Israel is planning to launch on the Arab countries when convenient international and local circumstances develop.

Possible Proposals

Therefore, the Arabs must deal with the current immigration wave on this basis. A comprehensive and united Arab confrontation is required to meet this major danger. If it is not possible to stem the flow of the immigration current, then it is possible to work to weaken it and to divert its main course away from Israel.

If the United States, which has been able with its ceaseless pressure to open the door of Soviet Jewish immigration under the pretext of "human rights," is now closing its doors to these immigrants to force them to go to Israel and if it is financing their settlement in the Arab territories occupied since 1948 or 1967, then it is essential that Washington be made to feel that Arabs can take a firm position toward it and that its interests in the region may be exposed to a serious threat as long as it insists on antagonism to our interests and on bolstering Israel's aggressive capabilities. Perhaps the oil embargo weapon and the oil revenue surpluses are foremost among the instruments that the Arabs can use to put pressure on the United States. The oil embargo did prove effective during the October war. The United States has numerous interests in our region. [passage omitted]

There is no doubt that the Arab endeavors with the Soviets on the issue of Jewish immigration must take into consideration the complex Soviet circumstances and the ceaseless pressures the Americans put on the Soviets. The Israeli and U.S. objective of driving a wedge between the Arab world and Moscow must be foiled because such a wedge will have grave consequences, especially insofar as the immigration issue is concerned. Moreover, the Arab address to the Soviets should be within the context of a policy that seeks to bolster the existing relations on the basis of joint interests and the context of helping Moscow confront the U.S. pressures, especially the economic pressures. This is likely to make the Soviet Union more prepared to consider Arab proposals that help reduce the Jewish immigration. These proposals may include a proposal to place this immigration under international supervision to make sure that Soviet Jews are not forced to go to Israel and that those of them who chose Israel are not settled in the bank and the strip. Even though we believe that this supervision will not greatly reduce the dangers of Jewish immigration and that it is very difficult to enact, such a proposal may

embarrass the United States and Israel and may reduce the pressures they are putting on the Soviet Union.

We can also propose that the United Nations demand that Israel make, in this regard, a pledge compatible with the UN resolutions that acknowledge the Palestinians' right to repatriation and self-determination. These resolutions are in strong conflict with the mass Jewish immigration, whether to the territories occupied since 1948 or to the bank and the strip.

We can also propose that Moscow take steps to allow Jewish immigrants to return to the Soviet Union whenever they wish so that they may not be compelled to go to Israel if they fail to enter the United States or to settle in West Europe. [passage omitted]

Supporting Intifadah's Role

Under all circumstances, it is necessary to organize propaganda campaigns aimed at the Soviet Jews, whether in the Soviet Union or in the European layover stations, and to point out the dangers entailed in their immigration to Israel—dangers not only to the Arabs but also to the Jews themselves.

As for the Jewish layover stations in Europe, a vigilant Arab follow-up and Arab efforts are required to reduce them as much as possible so as to make the immigration process more difficult. The Arabs have also to engage in an energetic propaganda effort among these immigrants to try to dissuade them from going to Israel. This can be done in cooperation with the friendly forces in the countries where these stations exist. The countries through which the immigrants transit should also be urged to give the opportunity to those immigrants who so wish to settle in these countries.

This is at the international level. As for the regional level, conditions must be created in Palestine to make Soviet Jews and others think twice before they decide to immigrate to Israel. [passage omitted]

Finally, the idea raised by some Palestinian factions regarding the possibility of resorting to armed struggle as a means of confronting the Jewish settlement in the bank and the strip is worth discussing. It should not be hastily dismissed, considering that it is a form of self-defense, especially in light of the escalating Israeli violence. [passage omitted]

Statistics for Expatriate Workers in Gulf

90OL0267A Paris AL-YAWM AL-SABI'
in Arabic 12 Feb 90 p 24

[Article by Muhammad Qawwas: "Foreign Workers: A Mandatory Development Option"]

[Text] Members of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] could have jumped into development during the oil boom of the mid-seventies without massive imports of specialized and nonspecialized foreign workers. The shortages suffered by GCC states in this field are not

temporary or transitory but a persistent fundamental flaw acknowledged by most Gulf economists.

The problem essentially surfaced during the period of recession that pervaded the region as a direct negative impact of the Gulf war, on one hand, and the collapse of oil prices from \$40 per barrel in 1980, for instance, to less than \$10 per barrel in mid-1986. (Current efforts hope to bring the price per barrel to the \$18 level).

It was natural then that societies of the region get exposed to the other side of the imported labor coin, especially since recession opens the collective eye to certain phenomena, or threats, that tend to be overlooked or ignored under conditions of prosperity.

Two things should be kept in mind when dealing with this problem and searching for solutions. First, that the need for foreign workers is mandatory to preserve the high level of development attained by those [GCC] countries. Talk of plans to reduce the degree of foreign worker utilization will not quantitatively amount to much, especially since the end of war in the region will certainly propel the wheel of development in a manner that requires further utilization of the Arab and international labor market.

The other point is the series of problems generated as a result of coexistence between the domestic societies and the foreign nationals, inducing changes in living norms and general behavior. Maintaining a balance between those two issues adds elements of great sensitivity that are not easy to resolve.

Several Gulf sources have recently voiced concern over the increasing numbers of foreign workers, and of Asian workers in particular. In 1985, foreign workers had a ratio of 91 percent in the UAE [United Arab Emirates], 80 percent in Kuwait and Qatar, and 71 percent in Saudi Arabia. Figures reveal that 43 percent of all foreign workers originated in South Asia, 20 percent came from Southeast Asia, and about 30 percent came from Arab countries. Gulf media cited increasing crime rates and expressed concern over the impact of foreign nannies on the language of children and on their educational development.

Demographics and the Labor Market

The region's fundamental shortage of native workers has not deterred it from implementing plans to replace foreigners with native workers. Bahrain announced plans to employ citizens in place of 20,000 foreign workers in 13 private sector categories. The United Arab Emirates expressed intention to fill its 50,000 government jobs with its own citizens. The "nationalization" campaign in Kuwait succeeded in raising the ratio of Kuwaitis in government service to 45 percent. These plans, however, stumble over the fact that educational programs are out of step with the actual needs of the market, resulting in increased unemployment among [university] graduates. Furthermore, indigenous social

values deter the existing labor force from seeking available jobs and crafts that foreigners are willing to accept.

Native labor force development is a function of general demographic growth. The World Bank predicts that the GCC population will grow from 8.7 million in 1985 to 16 million by the year 2000. Demographic growth in the past 2 decades ranged from 2.8 percent to 4 percent, which is higher than the world average. But the expected increase in population will not be able to meet the domestic demand for labor, even though young people account for more than 50 percent of all local residents.

The World Bank also forecasts that the foreign labor force in the region will increase from 7.6 million in 1985 to 11.6 million by the beginning of the next decade. A recent international study agreed with those estimates and forecast that the ratio of foreigners in the work force will decline this decade from 75 percent in 1985 to less than 70 percent as Gulf workers increase in numbers. The same study also predicted that unemployment in the Gulf will rise from 2.6 percent in 1985 to 5.9 percent by the end of this decade (unemployment could be as high as 10 percent in Bahrain). It is true that this is insignificant in comparison with industrialized nations, but it is considered high in the social framework of the countries involved.

Studies dealing with this issue also point out that women play a modest role in the labor force. Women in this region are a reserve human resource as yet unexploited in the development of the country. Gulf women have attained high educational levels but their economic contribution remains limited. "Tempering society" to accept women as working individuals therefore becomes imperative to release their qualitative and quantitative role in lessening dependence on foreign workers.

The authorities, during the recession, accepted the idea of allowing the families of expatriate workers to come live with them. The governments had several objectives in mind:

- 1) Help markets overcome stifling stagnation by increasing and stimulating local demand for consumer goods and for apartments, houses, and real estate.

- 2) Decrease the volume and size of monetary transfers estimated at some 20 percent of annual oil revenues in countries of the region

There is no doubt that the legitimate foreign presence of workers and their families will create a new social structure for foreign communities which in the past consisted mainly of male workers between the ages of 20 and 40. The resulting population stability will certainly result in increased births among foreign residents, further securing them as permanent factors of production and consumption in the region.

We concluded by pointing out that the number of foreign workers has declined significantly as huge infrastructure

projects were terminated or completed. Foreign worker departures from the Gulf exceeded arrivals as economic recession took hold in the mid-eighties. The number of foreign workers declined by 14 percent from 5.1 million in 1985 to 4.4 million in 1988. Foreign worker traffic, however, will depend on the success of domestic job "nationalization" programs and on domestic market needs dictated positively or negatively by the general economic climate.

Article Chastises PLO's Inaction on Jewish Immigration

90OA0353A Cairo AKHIR SA'AH
in Arabic 21 Feb 90 pp 3-5

[Article by Muhammad Wajdi Qandil]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] What has the PLO done in order to confront this mass Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel? [passage omitted]

Indeed we see no practical confrontation on the PLO's part of this threatening danger. All we hear is shouting and screaming by the Palestinian leadership that can see no further than its feet.

In fact all we see are attempts to blame the Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement for the inequities, even if these were inequities of the immigration of Soviet Jews. We only hear nonsense and absurdities by the PLO's "Abawat" [plural of Abu], from whom Yasir 'Arafat is himself suffering; he is experiencing the worst because of them and facing crises resulting from their reckless actions and rash statements!

These loud mouths, who master the art of oneupmanship, sloganeering, assassination, and terror are unable to offer practical solutions and incapable of courageous confrontation to protect the Palestinian people against the dangers threatening its destiny. Instead, they look for flimsy excuses behind which they hide and which they use to cover their impotence and failure to shoulder the responsibility.

I would like to pause at the statements of Salah Khalaf, Abu-Iyad, number two man in the PLO, to the Gulf papers about Soviet Jewish immigration, because they represent an example of confusing the issues by those who are hostile toward Egypt and who take every opportunity to blame it for the errors committed and for the PLO's sins.

Abu-Iyad says, verbatim: The settlement of Soviet Jews in the occupied territories is considered a violation of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. He insists that Egypt should review its stands in this regard and reconsider the peace treaty.

Does the PLO philosopher go that far in his misrepresentations and confusing the issue? Does the number two man in the PLO go that far in attempting to impose tutelage on Egypt, on its stands, and on its international

agreements? Does he go that far in indulging in unacceptable boasting that is tantamount to interference in Egypt's internal affairs and in matters concerning its sovereignty?

What is this deliberate and suspect meddling and irresponsible statements by Abu-Iyad, who is intentionally harming Egyptian-Palestinian relations?

What is this demagogic meddling with a cause of destiny? How does number two man in the PLO—accountable to 'Arafat—allows himself to interfere in Egypt's affairs and dictate to it to revise its attitude? How does a Palestinian official—or any other official for that matter—dare to try and direct Egypt's policy to the extent of asking it to "review the peace treaty."

Perhaps Abu-Iyad, intoxicated by his statements, has lost the true perception and so imagined himself to be in a position that is not his and a stature that is not his.

Perhaps he has forgotten the worth of Egypt, its leadership, and its people and, therefore, he has given himself the right to review its stands and revise the peace treaty. Perhaps he has forgotten what Egypt has given for the Palestine problem, the sacrifices it has offered for the restoration of the Palestinian people's rights, the wars it has fought, and the efforts it is still making for peace. Perhaps he has forgotten how he took refuge in the Egyptian Embassy in Amman and sought its protection when he was wanted by the Jordanian authorities during the September 1970 events because of the role he played in the bloody clashes and disturbances, and when 'Abd-al-Nasir saved him then. Perhaps he has also forgotten Mubarak's stand when he intervened in order to rescue 'Arafat and the PLO leadership during the Tripoli siege, when ships then took him under the protection of the Egyptian navy and air force.

The attempt to impose an absurd tutelage and make false allegations about Egypt's stands is unacceptable and is rejected as overstepping the limits.

It behooves Abu-Iyad and his ilk to devote themselves to the Palestine problem and to discharging the PLO's responsibility of confronting the dangers threatening the fate of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Sector from Jewish immigration. It behooves Abu-Iyad to save his nonsense for the dissident factions and fragmented elements that indulge in the death trade and terrorism in the "snake pits" and the dark alleys of conspiracy.

It behooves Abu-Iyad to reconsider his stand, particularly toward Egypt, and to understand that Mubarak's rule supports the Palestine problem and backs the PLO but refuses encroachment and interference in Egypt's political affairs. There is no doubt that he, like other PLO leaders, is aware that President Mubarak is intent on maintaining the independence of Egyptian decision-making and does not allow cheap oneupmanship at the expense of Egyptian decisionmaking.

If Abu-Iyad is unaware of the secrets of Jewish immigration and is trying to confuse it with the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, then he should understand the dimension of the immigration even before the State of Israel was established, and to try to read the history of the waves of Jewish immigration to Palestine after the Balfour Declaration and the history of Jewish settlement during and after the British Mandate.

If Abu-Iyad is ignorant of what lies behind opening the gates for mass Soviet Jewish immigration—that has nothing to do with the peace treaty—he should first find another excuse for the PLO's inability to deal with the conspiracy in a practical manner, without statements of denunciation and protest.

It is more appropriate for him to work, together with the PLO leadership, to support the Palestinian youth who are suffering from the abominable Israeli repression and to direct the billions of PLO funds and assets stashed in secret accounts in Jewish banks to support the intifadah [uprising], instead of begging aid from the Arab countries in the intifadah's name.

It is more appropriate for Abu-Iyad and the PLO leadership to seek to resolve Palestinian disputes and to end the fragmentation between the warring factions, instead of criticizing the spread of the fever of dissension to the intifadah and its leadership. What is happening between Hamas and the PLO in the West Bank and Gaza strip is sufficient evidence.

In any case, the PLO's attitude toward Soviet Jewish immigration has produced nothing new and offered no solution. [passage omitted]

When we ask who is to blame for the question of mass Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel, whether it is the Soviet Union or the United States, it is unwise to blame the Soviet Union, which adopts a friendly attitude toward the Arabs because it has allowed the flow of Jewish immigration in such a manner. Also, it is unrealistic to blame the United States alone because it has limited the number of Soviet Jewish immigrants to it. Rather, this is a joint responsibility of all parties, including the Palestinians and the PLO.

The Soviet Union draws a line between Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel and settling them in the occupied territories. It says: We are not concerned with what Israel does to settle the immigrants in any place. Israel is the one to blame and pressure should be put on it to prevent it from settling the immigrants. [passage omitted]

For its part, Egypt understands the Soviet attitude and does not object to the immigration because it concerns the Soviet policy and human rights rules. Yet its protest is focused on settling the Soviet immigrants in the occupied territories and the building of new settlements.

It appears that the Soviet Union's request for convening the Security Council came as a surprise to the Arabs, which prompted the Arab group at the United Nations to

meet for several hours in order to draw up a strategy compatible with the Soviet move, which aims at halting pressure on Moscow by presenting the problem of Soviet immigration as one beginning with settlement and not with immigration, while the Arabs consider it as beginning with immigration and ending with settlement.

With this tactic the Soviet attitude switched from defense to offense. It is worth noting here that the Arab stand blames Moscow for widely opening the gates of Jewish immigration to Israel. The Soviet strategy aims at focusing attention on the Israeli position which Shamir expressed by saying that a large immigration needs a "large Israel," which means that Israel's present area is insufficient to absorb the waves of Soviet Jewish immigrants. [passage omitted]

We must raise questions about the U.S. role behind the Jewish immigration: Is it true that the United States is prevaricating over the peace process in order to give Shamir's government time to end the intifadah and absorb the Soviet Jews? Is it true that closing the U.S. gates before Jewish immigration is aimed at forcing the immigrants to go to Israel, which is in contradiction to what Bush and Baker say about opposing the establishment of Greater Israel? [passage omitted]

Strategist Sees Egypt-Israel Cooperation As Not Beneficial

900A0345A Cairo AKHIR SA'AH
in Arabic 14 Feb 90 p 57

[Interview with political researcher Sayyid Yas by Faruq al-Tawil: "Dialogue of the 1990's With the Head of the Center for Political and Strategic Studies"; first paragraph is AKHIR SA'AH introduction; date and place not given]

[Text] Sayyid Yas, head of the largest political and strategic research center in Egypt, presents an annual strategic report on Egypt, the Middle East, and the world. The Center for Strategic Studies is an authority that is listened to and whose advice is sought from time to time. Sayyid Yas has the eye of an Egyptian researcher, an Arab nationalist heart, and a mentality formed in Egypt, and he has written a book about the Egyptian personality.

[Yas] I know everything about Israel. We study them; we have English or French translations of everything they have written. Our eyes are constantly on them, and their eyes are on us. We hide nothing; we discuss our issues every day in the press with complete freedom and frankness. The Israelis are in our midst every day because of the peace treaty, but we boycott them and do not go there as a strategic intellectual policy. Egyptian intellectuals and professional associations have issued decisions to boycott the Israelis, and I support this decision...and more. Furthermore, our country's strategy links normalization with solution of the Palestinian problem. We are boycotting them out of a conviction that we do not need them and want nothing from them.

No one will force me to like Israel, and anyone who goes there will be held to account professionally—his association will judge him. Normalization is the end of a state of conflict and war between the two countries and the exercise of normal relations between the two countries. Since Israel still practices all types of terrorism and does not behave like a civilized, responsible country, there is no normalization. Talking about benefiting from their services or about the technological gap between us is mere illusion. We are definitely not sleeping; our knowledge of them will not increase with close contact. What would we gain from being in their research centers? What would our universities gain from close contact with Israeli universities? What would our parties gain from meetings with Israeli parties? What would Egyptian scientists gain from studying with Israeli scientists? Or professional associations with Israeli associations? Nothing. They continue to fear Egypt every day, and they see what they want.

Anyone who speaks of normalization is a traitor, and speaking of it is treason and economic corruption. Anyone who speaks of it is either a political opportunist or economically corrupt and values his interest over that of Egypt. We know the Israelis very well and watch them. It is not true that the army learns from them or benefits and improves from contact with or fighting against them. Theories of military development have remote principles or beneficial lessons. They learned from us, and we learned from them. The Egyptian army is one of the strongest armies in the world and fought with western and eastern conviction. That is genius. I have nothing to gain from them; what do they have that could help me? Their progress is spurious, and discussing the positive aspects of normalization is extremely dangerous; I will fight against their intervention in our economy and agriculture. There is historical hostility between us that will remain. Why give them an opportunity through normalization on the pretext of benefiting from imagined technologies, as some opportunists believe we should? This trend is very dangerous, since Israel is settlement colonialism. We could give Israel 10,000 feddans to cultivate. How would I know that after 20 years Israel would say, "This is my land." Do we remember when Begin said they built the pyramid? How could I let him enter? Opening the doors to their fighters on the pretext of normalization would be a crime and treason, which I underscore. I oppose even the narrow spheres that have been opened to them. What do they have? Irrigation sprinklers? Where is the dangerous technology? Why do I not work directly with the United States, instead of going through Israel? I say "no" to their entering our industries and our agriculture; because of the many risks, we do not need Israel. What would force me? By God, it is a strange thing. You want to convince me that normalization is good. You are very much impressed by a viewpoint and want to convince me as well; this is very strange, by God. Why should I take the risk? What is the incentive?

[AKHIR SA'AH] It disturbs me to hear many intellectuals and political figures speaking in two languages: they

say with their tongues what is not in their hearts. Among themselves they say the complete opposite; I have even felt that we were suffering from dual personalities. We will solve our problem only by facing ourselves first of all and saying what we feel without embarrassment, sensitivity, or fear of intellectual terrorism.

Your talk about treason, corruption, and opportunists with regard to normalization is one type of the terrorism that is imposed. It is closer to the method used by the "thought gangs." "Treason" and "corruption" are the language of police investigators and intelligence agencies, not accepted language in the Center for Political and Strategic Studies. Your statement that we know everything about Israel reminds me of the "everything is alright" syndrome. Even Israel, whom you do not need, and all its intellectuals do not say that everything is alright or that they know everything. Its democracy allows discussion of everything, from the boycott by the head of professional associations to the highest state strategy. I challenge all heads of professional organizations who are concerned only about votes to speak. These pages are open to them all to prove that they understand the meaning of the boycott using objective, not emotional, proof and objective, official evidence...to prove that their decision was sound. They issued the decision and then forgot about it. The paper on normalization presented by Major General Hasan al-Badri said that normalization is not a restoration of normal life between Israel and us, but a continuation of the conflict by other means. It said that the heroes of the conflict will be the association leaders, the professionals, the scholars, and the intellectuals. It said that the army has fulfilled its duty and that the accord ended the state of war, but that the conflict has not ended and that the intellectuals must act and must compete with Israeli successes.

What is the average income in Israel? How do they combat inflation? How do they meet the budget deficit, and how do they build settlements? Normalization is not a vacation, but a struggle more fierce than war. If I debate an issue with you, I am not a traitor, nor corrupt. I do not know the doctors whom you said were benefiting from dealing with the Israelis. Maj. Gen. al-Badri bore arms against Israel for 40 years, and I carried a Katyusha on my shoulders, striking Israeli settlements with the Palestinians. I was a war correspondent in all the Arab-Israeli wars and learned to shoot in the brother's camps when I was 12 years old. The doctors you referred to helped make the highest state strategy. I urge you to wake up, and you urge me to sleep. I call you to act and continue the struggle, and you urge me to be content with refusing and repeating the Arab "no's". I urge you to act, and you urge me to keep still. But I tell you, "The world is changing." Where are we with regard to these changes? The Soviet Union has turned toward the United States for the sake of the Soviet people. Earlier, al-Sadat went to Israel for the sake of the Arab people, but was accused of treason. What you call treason and corruption others call political maturity. The East has yielded to the West to live today. The traditional enmity among France, England, and Germany has changed to European unity. All the changes in the world are in Israel's

interest, and she knows how to use them. But where are we in the equation? Lieutenant General Muhammad 'Ali Fahmi said that the United States will get rid of Israel, since it no longer needs a military policeman in the region. What do you think? I would add that sometimes Egyptian interests are in conflict with Palestinian interests, and we suffer from their behavior. They have moderates and extremists, and they attack Egyptians in the Arab world. Let us not forget Achille Lauro and the Isma'iliyah incident.

[Yas] Anyone who believes that the United States will get rid of Israel is mistaken. He is not aware of the extent of the relationship between them, which is very special. Israelis are penetrating the U.S. nerve center in research centers, universities, Congress, the Pentagon, lobbies, and weapons factories. Do you know how many representatives are in the Israeli military attache's office in the United States? Thousands. If Israel requests a certain weapon and is told that it is not available, they say, "No, I was in such-and-such a factory in such-and-such a state." When a nationalistic trend surfaced in the United States to the effect that U.S. interests were in conflict with Israeli interests, they fought and defeated it. Do you remember Fulbright? No official or scholar is allowed to take a step toward the Arabs or in their interest. They control U.S. election donation organizations and are taken into consideration in everything. No one in the United States dares to fight them because their illegal means are stronger than their legal means. They even attack moderate Jewish scholars, such as Noam Chomsky. At the beginning, the Zionists realized that the rich Jews were not sympathetic to them and were not giving them money. They commissioned top scholars to study and explain this phenomenon and find a solution. The research team drew up a program that put Jewish leaders and rich Jews at their service to this day. Israel succeeded in convincing the United States that their interests were not only common interests, but were one—U.S. interests were Israeli interests. They make long-term plans. Relations between them will not be affected in any way. Israel was not a military policeman protecting U.S. interests; relations between them are deeper and have religious aspects as well. Assistance may be cut back to the rest of the world, but not to Israel because their relationship is such that Israel takes what it wants from the United States, even loans. There is an expression in the United States: "Loans are usually not forgotten..."

[AKHIR SA'AH] What you are saying is a veneration of the cleverness of the Jews. When I say that we will learn from them, I mean that we will study this cleverness that has convinced the United States, that recruited Great Britain and France in the 1956 and 1967 Wars, and that recently persuaded the Soviet Union to allow Soviet Jews to emigrate as Israel requested. Is this not strength, cleverness, influence, and efficiency from which we should learn? How do they get what they want? How do they recruit U.S. presidents to their interests? How do they penetrate other countries and get their way? This is what we want to learn and what certain intellectuals and political figures, who praise Israeli successes and then say,

"What can we learn from them?", reject. I ask that the scholars and experts at the Center for Strategic Studies be realistic and answer one question: Will we punish Israel by not normalizing relations, or will we punish ourselves? Is normalization continuation of the struggle through other means or is it kisses, tourism, friendship, and restoration of normal life between the two countries?

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Rift in DFLP Elections Noted

44000255 Paris AL-YAWM AL-SABI'
in Arabic 19 Mar 90 p 10

[Text] AL-YAWM AL-SABI' has received information about the central council of the Democratic Front saying that the council was divided into two equal factions, 31 members on each side. Because of this, systematic results were inconsistent, with the majority in the political bureau backing Nayif Hawatimah's faction and the majority in the central committee secretariat backing Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh's faction.

Why this inconsistency?

Sources in the Democratic Front leadership say: Electing leadership organizations preceded electing the secretary general and the deputy secretary general. Nayif Hawatimah and Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh were the only candidates for these two consecutive positions, respectively; therefore, they both won a majority of the votes. During the election of the rest of the members of the political bureau, one of the members of the renewal faction split his ballot among those present, wanting to strike a balance among the factions in the political bureau. This led to a victory by the conservative faction by a numerical majority in the political bureau (32 votes to 31).

Because the remaining members of the political bureau were not elected, owing to equal voting, the candidates of the renewal faction withdrew in the second round of voting to guarantee that the three candidates from the occupied territories would win membership in the political bureau.

In the elections of the central committee secretariat, the votes of all the supporters of the renewal faction were cast in concert, and this resulted in their winning a majority in the membership in the secretariat, which will represent the everyday organizational leadership in the front.

BAHRAIN

Information Minister Discusses Freedom of Press

900L0266A London AL-MAJALLAH
in Arabic 13 Feb 90 pp 58-61

[Interview with Tariq 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Mu'ayyid, Bahrain's minister of information by 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Rashid: "In Candid Interview With AL-MAJALLAH Bahrain's Minister of Information Says, 'Freedom of

Press Ends When Press Interferes With Freedom of Others; Principle of Having Multiple Sources of Information Was Applied When We Published AL-AYYAM Newspaper, Started Second Television Channel and Another Radio Station; We Have To Fight Against Ghawar al-Tawshah's Joke; Some People Thought the War Was in Bahrain Because the News Was Coming Out of Bahrain';" in Bahrain; date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[AL-MAJALLAH] News agencies as well as newspaper, radio, and television [representatives] came to think of Bahrain as an information center for the world press, especially during the critical years of the war. Bahrain thus came to have a distinguished position. Why hasn't this worldwide image of a flourishing information industry been reflected on Bahrain's media?

[al-Mu'ayyid] The media are nothing more than mirrors which reflect existing facts. Here, the media reflect Bahrain's policy, which has always been open to the outside world. Bahrain has followed an open policy in trade, in investment, and in the field of public services which it offers to all Gulf countries. [passage omitted]

The fact that Bahrain has been open with the foreign press is part of this comprehensive policy which has been guided by the prince of the land who insists on meeting with all foreign and Arab journalists who come to Bahrain. The prince of Bahrain meets with all these journalists so he can find out what they think. They can then get the news from the principal source in the country and hear it from the horse's mouth. The prime minister also meets with journalists, and these meetings are flattery-free models of candor. We believe in Bahrain that the press is important, and we believe that it is important for the press to play its role. We gave the same attention to news agencies and to the world press, which can do a better job than we can of conveying our opinions to the outside world.

With regard to the effect of all that on the media in Bahrain, let me say that although we don't have the big names, we lack nothing in quality. There are two newspapers in Bahrain: AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ [Gulf News] and AL-AYYAM [The Days]. The latter newspaper has only been published recently to supplement its older, sister publication. Both newspapers are proud of the fact that most of the staff journalists they have are Bahrainis.

Let me say that AL-AYYAM is the new newspaper, and let me remind you that it was founded with the government's backing and support. The government founded this newspaper on the basis of its confidence that Bahraini journalists are competent and capable of managing the newspaper in the way it should be managed.

[AL-MAJALLAH] It is being said, however, that the Gulf News Agency is experiencing a crisis because the countries, which are its founding members, are not making their payments and are not meeting their international obligations.

[al-Mu'ayyid] When we established the Gulf News Agency, we agreed that the functions it would perform would be basic ones, namely, those of delivering news of the region to those in media agencies, in the regional press, and in the world press who want to know what is happening here but lack the sources for finding out. The Gulf News Agency was to report to the outside world the wishes and aspirations of the region's peoples and leaders.

Therefore, we were supposed to assume the cost of setting up the agency and [of running it] for a short period of time. The Gulf ministers of information had decided unequivocally that the Gulf states were to contribute to the agency's budget. There are many reasons, however, why the budget fell short sometimes, but none of these reasons matters to us now.

Let me say here for the record that al-Shaykh Khalifah Ibn-Salman Al Khalifah, the prime minister, looked into this matter, and he told me himself that he wanted the government of Bahrain to cover all the shortfalls because the agency was established for a national purpose: to serve the Gulf area and Gulf citizens. What you're talking about are small amounts of money which we shouldn't even be talking about. Nor should they become a stumbling block in the progress we hope the media in the Gulf will make. The least we can do for our brothers in the Gulf, who did a lot for us on various occasions, is to take care of the agency's expenses once in a while as a small way of returning a favor to our brothers, who are dear to us, for what they did for us in the past.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Why don't you turn the Gulf News Agency into a commercial agency that operates, like international agencies do, as an independent, information agency collecting fees for its services?

[al-Mu'ayyid] We have to look ahead and realize that commercial agencies will have the advantage in the foreseeable future. In the West in particular commercial institutions in this field are viewed as more independent than government media agencies, which are perceived to be guided by the government.

That is why we are actually considering offering the agency's services on a commercial basis. A fee would be paid by those who want the services, and the fee would be a symbolic payment made to reward the effort that was made.

We are willing to work with major institutions of the press in the Arab world to make this agency the spokesman for all our opinions and the business that can hold its own with the media in the outside world. [passage omitted]

[AL-MAJALLAH] Don't you think that the phrase, freedom of the press, is being understood and interpreted in different ways?

[al-Mu'ayyid] Freedom of the press ends when the press starts interfering with people by defaming them, humiliating them, or interfering with their interests. The entire world uses certain principles to evaluate freedom of the

press. The freedom of the press we are striving to achieve is one which is consistent with our customs and traditions and does not neglect the single family, which is the prevalent family form in Gulf society. We think there are no careless newspapers in the Gulf, and we think that our newspapers are free and honorable and that they are respected [by their readers]. So what if they make mistakes? No one is infallible.

[AL-MAJALLAH] You yourself have been known to have cordial relations with people in Arab media circles, and Bahrain has been known for its tolerance. Nevertheless, the problem of making deliberate insinuations against Bahrain has persisted. What do you think about this situation?

[al-Mu'ayyid] These are exceptional situations, and we don't worry about them. We respect those who respect us, and we respect other people's opinions. The prime minister told you quite frankly that we want every opinion to be heard.

We sympathize with the revenue shortages which the expatriate press has been suffering from. We blame no one, and we respect every journalist and every opinion.

What matters to us, if it's a matter of wrong information, is to correct any misconception about Bahrain, especially since our relations with the Arab world now are going through a positive phase, and that compels us to be optimistic and to speak with one voice in the interests of our just common causes.

With regard to the question about what the Arab media are doing to counter what the world media are doing, I would say that we are not equipped to counter schemes which are being contrived against us and which are targeting our region.

[AL-MAJALLAH] AL-AYYAM, Bahrain's second daily newspaper, which was published last year, uses the most modern, electronic, editing and printing devices. In light of the concrete development that is taking place in Bahrain, are there any other new programs for the media in the country?

[al-Mu'ayyid] Publication of AL-AYYAM in Bahrain was prompted by the principle of finding alternatives. Ordinary citizens hold many opinions and have many desires, and no single source can satisfy all of them.

In the area of the press we thought that AL-AYYAM should be published as a national civic newspaper. That did not mean, however, forgetting about the second newspaper, whose performance we set out to improve. The two newspapers work together, cooperating with each other and complementing each other in getting accurate information and following up on it.

Based on the same principle of providing various sources of information, we considered a short time ago having one television channel offer programs different from those offered by the channel we now have. The new

channel would reach another group of Bahraini and Gulf citizens and offer them something new. It would target young and junior viewers.

Not too long ago, we actually started broadcasting on a new channel the same programs which were being broadcast on the main broadcasting channel. When there are special programs, such as sports games, the general program is interrupted so that the new programs can be shown on the new broadcasting channel.

We started doing this with sports, and on many occasions we offered cultural programs and discussions, which we admit were heavy for those viewers who want recreational programs. But we offered these programs to young people as an alternative. At the present time we are looking into the possibility of offering educational programs on a supplementary basis. The educational programs would be offered first when the channel starts its broadcast. Sports programs would be offered during the afternoon period, and purposeful cultural programs would be offered in the evening. Such programs might be boring, but they are important.

This applies to Bahrain Radio too. Starting with the National Day celebrations last December, a special program of light fare, songs, and entertainment was designated for broadcast on the second station. And now, the station which has been offering Bahrain serious programs offers cultural programs, discussions, and extended news programs in the mornings. Early in the evening it offers popular broadcasts, and later in the evening, readings from the Koran. We are thus satisfying the largest segments of society and meeting their needs. The media diversification policy, which was instituted by the government of Bahrain, started out on three fronts simultaneously. We had diversification in the press with the publication of AL-AYYAM Newspaper late in the year; diversification in television when the new, second television channel was launched to broadcast sports and cultural programs as well as purposeful programs; and diversification in sources of information and radio programs with the introduction of the second program from Radio Bahrain.

[AL-MAJALLAH] At the recommendation of the chairman of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC], a committee was formed to consider ideas for the future in the wake of world developments, especially those occurring in the eastern camp and in Europe. Since you are a principal member of that committee, can you tell us what it has accomplished?

[al-Mu'ayyid] Committee members are proud of the fact that leaders of the Gulf Cooperation Council have the confidence in them to entrust them with this task. We must not, however, give this or any other committee more responsibility than that which was planned for it. We came out of the GCC Summit meeting in Muscat with a resolution that was fundamental and important, namely, the Muscat Declaration, which, I believe, was intended to tell the whole world, and not just citizens of the Gulf who already know this, that the Gulf countries

want to be the only ones responsible for their own internal conditions. The Muscat Declaration told the whole world that there should be no doubt about the Gulf countries' ability to avoid disputes and their ability to use their various agencies to settle disputes.

This declaration has to be clear to the press in the Arab world in particular and to the press in the entire world in general, because it reflects a true desire to make a balanced statement that would end anything which might create doubts and raise questions about our progress and our ability to confront the challenges of the nineties. I personally think this declaration is the most important statement to come out of the summit. This first step, which was a tremendous and a successful one, has been supplemented by many things, including our dealings with the outside world. Knowledge of what is happening in the world is not what is required: World events are known to leaders and to many people who receive this information from the liberal media in the Gulf. What is being proposed, however, is the idea of finding a mechanism that would automatically compile everything that could happen in the world in a format which is malleable and adaptable to world events around us and then present this information to the competent official or civic agencies in a manner that takes our interests and our national positions into account. It is my personal opinion that we cannot possibly follow the lead of the western media when they tell us that we must react to what is happening in East Europe, for example. Events in these countries are matters which are of interest to these countries and to their peoples.

When some countries promote this or the other event, their action may stem from their policy. We, however, must have a defined position, and that position has to manifest itself in a desire to cooperate with all peace loving nations and countries that wish to cooperate with us in the area of trade and the economy in a manner that would benefit people in our area and every citizen in the Gulf area. Whatever is said about this committee must not go beyond the fact that it is a GCC committee which, over the next year, will be submitting a number of reports to set up a mechanism that will make it possible for official and civic institutions to react to events in the world. Let me repeat the term, civic institutions, in particular because we in the media have an important responsibility. If we do not inform our newspapers and our media, we may do something we are not supposed to do when we deal with some events, thereby letting others convey a point of view which in all cases cannot possibly be the same point of view which represents the interests of people in this area.

[AL-MAJALLAH] I gather from what you're saying that you wish to have the news screened in accordance with our interests. And yet it is assumed that the news is to be delivered as it is received. News commentary, however, is to be provided elsewhere, such as on the radio or on television.

[al-Mu'ayyid] Screening the news is not being talked about at the present time. We have a liberal climate for the media, and products of the foreign media are freely distributed in our country. Radio stations from all over

the world can be heard without any interference. What is required is more truth and candor with the media so they can understand the direction in which the country is moving, the thoughts that are going on in the minds of officials, and the plans they are making. You would not blame a journalist when he reports a western or a foreign point of view on a certain incident because he does not know what your plans are. However, if he knows what is happening on the local scene, and if he receives accurate information, he will write what he thinks is an appropriate news report. But he will invariably also take into account what is being planned in the area. This is what we have been trying to tell the press in the Gulf and to call their attention to. This distinction must be clear. We give accurate information, but we do not insist that it be published. In fact, we do not insist that the information we provide be the only source of information for journalists and employees of media agencies in the Gulf. [passage omitted]

[AL-MAJALLAH] With regard to Bahrain's location and its well known tolerance, have you been embarrassed by the news reported by the large number of journalists in the country?

[al-Mu'ayyid] The media people who came to Bahrain during the Iraq-Iran war expected to see action. They were surprised, however, when they found out that the war was far away from us. But we did not hold them back when they insisted on going to the battlefield. We made it clear to them, however, that the battlefield was not nearby. There were extraordinary discrepancies because many of the world's news agencies and media organizations were reporting many news stories about the Gulf war that were coming out of Bahrain. In addition, they were reporting about economic and political events which are of interest to areas other than Bahrain. Consequently, a duly qualified person coming from abroad would expect us to have an opinion about what happened and what was reported from Bahrain. We would then explain that it was the journalist who was in Bahrain, but that person would insist that the events which were reported did take place in Bahrain. An Arab journalist may come to Bahrain seeking one's opinion on a matter that is of interest to another Gulf country because he had not received information on that subject. We would explain to him that the roads to that country were open and that he could go there himself. Then we would tell him that our opinion would be the same as the one he would hear in that fraternal country because our points of view on those economic and political events that are of interest to the area have to complement each other.

[AL-MAJALLAH] How do you see the future of the media in the Gulf?

[al-Mu'ayyid] The media in the Gulf have taken major strides forward. Television and radio organizations are working together. There are some deficiencies, but there are no contradictions and there is no policy of hostility toward anyone. We must move toward complementing each other because we cannot be competing against each

other. We must offer citizens and viewers our best. As far as the press is concerned, I am quite confident that the point of view of the Bahrain government is to use all its resources to support the press so it can become a reflection of the entire country, portraying the country's leaders and their accomplishments as well as the citizens' concerns and aspirations. The government of Bahrain wants citizens to use their press to find out what is happening in their country. Let me say that Ghawar al-Tawshah's joke about listening to foreign radio broadcasts to find out what is happening in our country is a joke that we have to do away with because it describes a painful situation in some parts of the Arab nation.

The media must have credibility, and the media get that credibility from experience, not from what they say. Establishing credibility takes time. We have to be critical of ourselves and of our own conditions, and we have to use our own media to do that. We have to stay away from the dry, official news and from the trivial news which citizens turn away from. This happened here. We are very proud of the fact that many Gulf countries concentrate on the news that is official and important; they let other media agencies, like the press, handle the other news. We have a television program in Bahrain entitled, "Mahaliyat," [Local News]. This program is an example of those television programs which are found abroad. Instead of concentrating on officials, they focus on citizens who discovered something, offered a distinguished service, or did something else. Viewers liked this program. The average citizen does not care what happens in a major country. He may want to know that out of curiosity, but what he is interested in is what happens in his town and on his street. A Gulf citizen also cares about matters that have a direct effect on his daily life. Market prices for vegetables are more important to him than a collision between two trains in some country or a bomb explosion in another country that does not interest him.

We do not want to conceal information about what is happening in the world, but we must offer a lot of local news because citizens of Bahrain as well as the area's citizens enjoy local news. I am not asking for all our programs to be local because that would be a loss for the press, for television, and for newspapers. We must, however, offer programs about other people and their news.

EGYPT

NPUG Plans Internal Rebuilding, Perestroika

90OA0368A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI
in Arabic 19 Feb 90 pp 48-49

[Interview with Dr. Rifat al-Sa'id, secretary general of National Progressive Unionist Grouping: "National Progressive Unionist Grouping To Start Its 'Perestroika,' Reform by End of This Year"; date and place not given]

[Text] Dr. Rifat al-Sa'id tells "Opposition Papers" editor: "If our party were being threatened by an eruption, postponing the conference would make the situation even more explosive.

"We are the only ones with a plan that gives party leaders difficult responsibilities."

"I think it is possible for us to reach a compromise on holding our elections."

"Our aim is to start our own 'perestroika' so we can rebuild our party."

Members of the National Unionist Progressive Grouping [NPUG] are hoping that their party's third general conference will introduce specific ideas and steps whose aim is to reform the organizational principles, which may have been undermined by the practices of the past period. The most recent product of these practices was the party's failure to achieve victory in the parliamentary elections that were held in April 1987.

During the coming period, the party will be looking into the possibility of finding a new, conciliatory plan to unify its factions. The NPUG will be doing this at a time when news reports indicate that disagreements are erupting between Nasirists, Marxists, and nationalists about their assessments of what the coming period will be like. The news reports indicate that there is disagreement over what political action methods would be used and what would be appropriate popular involvement during that period.

NPUG officials informed the magazine's "Opposition Papers" editor that the party will have to face a disagreement between its members over the method that will be used to conduct elections for the party's various organizations at NPUG's third general conference. One group within the party thinks that instead of having one candidate's name presented in a referendum, as is the case now, the party's secretary general should be elected from a slate of candidates. This group also thinks that the election system should be changed so that individuals can run for office, but another group thinks that the present system must remain unchanged.

The magazine's "Opposition Papers" editor interviewed Dr. Rifat al-Sa'id, secretary general of the party's Central Committee, to find out the truth about the disagreements between the factions within the party and the real reasons why the party's third general conference was being postponed.

Responding to a question about the truth of the allegation that the conference was being postponed to preserve the party's unity for as long as possible and to prevent a possible eruption of these disagreements, which could happen at any moment, Dr. al-Sa'id started out by saying, "If an eruption of disagreements is threatening the NPUG, postponing the conference would make the situation even more explosive. On the contrary, when

political parties are facing crises that are becoming more severe, conferences are held so that conflicts can be resolved."

Dr. al-Sa'id affirms that the conference is being postponed so that proper preparations can be made for it. He says, "We are trying to make this conference something more than just a tool for electing leaders. If electing party leaders were the only reason for the conference, convening one would be easy and possible at any time. What we hope and aspire to accomplish, however, is to turn this conference into a general process of rebuilding and restructuring, not only the party's regulatory organizations, but also its relations with the public, its public rhetoric, as well as its methods of action. A process such as this requires a major effort that would be difficult to complete as swiftly as we might expect."

Again, Dr. al-Sa'id denies that the party is under the threat of experiencing an eruption of disagreements when he says, "If we feared an eruption within the party, and if we postponed the conference because of that fear, we would also be apprehensive about convening a meeting of the Central Committee, whose 24 members represent the party's basic cadre. Any disputes within the party would have to be found among those committee members. But we were not apprehensive about that, and we convened a meeting of that committee last January. Next June, we will convene another meeting of that committee so that it can finalize preparations for the conference."

Responding to a question about whether the process of rebuilding the party's organizations and relations with the public represented the start of a new, reform-oriented, party-initiated 'perestroika,' the secretary general of the Central Committee said, "This is not the case. The NPUG has had its own distinctive style ever since its inception. We have no desire to be as 'crude' as some people are who try to prove that they thought of this 'perestroika' even before Gorbachev did. We did, however, take note of our people's capabilities and aspirations for broad action by a party, and that was how the NPUG was founded. It is a special and a new kind of political party, and it has no precedent. It has that quality that we call flexibility and it also has multiple political tendencies."

Although Dr. al-Sa'id asserts that the NPUG model is useful, essential, and indicative of a new and renewable understanding of the facts, he also thinks that it places difficult responsibilities on the party's leaders with regard to the methods they use in making decisions. "We do not resort to the simple and easy method of taking a vote. Instead, we try to come to a general agreement. This method forces us to be flexible in our political unity, and it forces us to take a more flexible approach in our political rhetoric and so on."

After these preliminary remarks Dr. al-Sa'id concludes that the party is sensitive to the need to reconsider what the party should do to boost its popularity and how it should do it. The party is sensitive to the fact that it has to reconsider how and with what means its political

rhetoric can be changed. These are matters that the party has been considering for quite some time. A clear and specific decision on those matters is expected when the general conference is held.

Responding to a question about current allegations that the party will be examining, from now and until the conference is held, a conciliatory plan to unite its various factions, Dr. al-Sa'id said, "If this were true, there would be nothing wrong with it. I believe, however, that first of all, the conference was not postponed for one year, but for a much shorter period."

"Second, we believe that no political party on the scene holds general conferences as regularly as we do. No other party is as committed to that as we are."

"Third, we would not be able to hide disputes if there were any."

The secretary general of the Central Committee had this to say about the ongoing controversy over the election method: "This controversy has not been resolved yet because the election method is determined by the rules, and the rules are determined by the conference itself. The fact of the matter is that we have one of two choices: Our first choice is to put democracy in action once and for all, and this means that whoever has the majority gets all the seats."

"Our second choice is to resort to democracy by writing rules that take into consideration our wish that we not deprive the minority, if there is one, of its right to representation in the party's organizations. We must also place no obstacles that would make the various political tendencies feel that they cannot have representation at all party levels regardless of how many members they have in the party. This matter is being discussed, and I believe it is possible for us to reach a compromise about it."

Dr. al-Sa'id was asked about the crisis, which erupted some time ago in AL-AHALI, resulting in the ouster of its editor in chief, Mahmud al-Maraghi. Because some people think this crisis uncovered the disagreements between Nasirists and the Marxist faction, Dr. al-Sa'id was asked if he thought this crisis was still casting a heavy shadow on the party. He responded this way: "I don't believe so because Mahmud al-Maraghi, who was nominated by the general secretariat, was elected by the Central Committee at its meeting last 26 January during the term of the previous committee chairman. To al-Maraghi or those who elected him, it may have been no coincidence that this election was cancelled."

Problems Face Government Sale of Joint Venture Shares

90OA0368B Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI
in Arabic 19 Feb 90 p 33

[Article by Dr. Khalid Fu'ad Sharif, associate professor at the American University in Cairo: "Joint Venture Companies: Is Privatization What the Government Has in Mind?"]

[Text] Since 1974, in the wake of the liberalization policy, the Egyptian Government invested hundreds of millions of pounds in numerous joint ventures. The Egyptian Government made those investments over the past two decades. Today, the government and a number of private sector companies are co-owners of many assets of companies, which are producing such goods as chewing gum, carbonated beverages, and car batteries. Some of these joint ventures, part of whose capital came from the government, are afflicted with grave financial problems.

Other joint ventures, however, are doing quite well. From 1980-1981 to 1987-1988, for example, the net return on the re-appraised general assets of 30 joint venture companies in which the government is a contributor was no more than 2.3 percent, compared to an annual inflation rate of 18 percent during the same period.

Such low financial rates led the government to consider selling its assets either to the public sector or to the general public. According to last week's AL-AHRAM, which cited three ministers, the Council of Ministers approved a comprehensive program for the sale of these assets.

At the present time the government is concerned about the low return rates of some joint venture companies, particularly because these companies were not expected to have a negative effect on the state's finances. Therefore, the government is currently considering the privatization of these ventures as a way of limiting remittances to joint ventures and as a way of realizing additional financial resources to reduce the growing budget deficit. The list of ventures that will be covered by this privatization includes more than 150 firms in four different governorates. The sale of these companies' assets is currently being discussed.

It is expected that the government will turn to a number of international development organizations for the following:

A. To obtain the necessary technical support for implementing the privatization of joint venture companies.

B. To obtain the funding sources that are necessary to cover any debts these companies that are being offered for sale may have.

C. To obtain the financial support that is necessary to create new, private-sector companies to replace these companies.

The privatization of all government-owned assets in joint venture companies will, of course, produce a sizeable financial return for the government, estimated at approximately 2 billion pounds. Before that happens, however, the government must find someone who wants to buy these assets, which it intends to sell. And that is

considered extremely difficult, especially if the companies, which are for sale, are afflicted with financial difficulties or poor performances. Another obstacle that may hinder the sale of these assets is the stipulation in Law Number 43, the Liberalization Investment Law, that a shareholder in a private-sector company receive priority in purchasing shares owned by the government in case the government sells those shares. On the other hand, we find that ongoing negotiations between the private sector and the government over the real value of the assets, which are being offered for sale, may continue for several years. That would slow down significantly the privatization effort as well.

Will the government, for example, offer these publicly-owned shares for sale, or will it barter and exchange the debts for capital? This is the question that remains unanswered.

Regardless of how privatization will take place, the fact that the government wants it to happen is seen as a proper step toward liberalization.

Although the government had declared its intention to privatize more than once in the past, it has not so far taken any serious steps in that direction. Economists who are interested in privatization and in the discussions that are taking place about that subject recall that two years ago the government had promised to sell assets that are owned and managed by various governorates. During the past two decades the state invested hundreds of millions of pounds in firms that are owned by different governorates. The government made those investments to establish a huge network of companies for food security. Today, however, the government owns hundreds of poultry farms and animal husbandry farms in most of Egypt's main governorates. This constitutes a huge financial burden on the government and we are still waiting for the government to carry out its promise of privatizing those assets.

Shaykhs Isma'il, Sha'rawi on Extremism, Violence

90OA0347AKuwaitAL-SIYASAH in Arabic 22 Jan 90 p 11

[Interview with Shaykh Muhammad Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi, al-Azhar jurisprudent and Koran interpreter, and Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il, radical jurisprudent and politician, by Muhammad Mustafa; "Religious Radicalism in Egypt Is Bomb on Hot Tin Roof; Interview With Two Most Prominent Jurisprudents and Politicians Not Intended To Be Turned Into Argument Between Two Men; Sha'rawi Does Not Permit Proclaiming Society Infidel; Abu-Isma'il Ties Obedience to Government With Obedience to God; Shaykh Mutawalli Does Not Approve of Clergymen's Involvement in Politics Unless Politics Are Religion and Religion Is Politics; Began His Life With Muslim Brotherhood and Then Abandoned It Because Hasan al-Banna Objected to Poem in Which Shaykh Eulogized Sa'd Zaghlul;" first three paragraphs are AL-SIYASAH introduction; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Cairo—[Passage omitted] Shaykh Muhammad Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi and Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il are two of Egypt's current intellectual, political, and jurisprudential leaders.

The former, Shaykh Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi, took part in issuing the well-known al-Azhar proclamation in which he defined his opinions and ideas on the religious tendency, on its issues, and on its radical sectors. Shaykh al-Sha'rawi signed that proclamation at a time when he has confined his activity in recent years to the effort to interpret the venerable Koran in a manner that is subject to the logic of modern sciences.

As for Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il, he is the man who made the well-known testimony in the trial of the "fire survivors"—a testimony in which he supported the opinions and ideas of the [radical religious] organization and its action method. This motivated the prosecution to order the trial of Shaykh Abu-Salih because he declared the government infidel and agreed with the youth's confrontation of the government. [passage omitted]

Our first question was addressed to Shaykh Muhammad Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi:

[AL-SIYASAH] To begin, what is radicalism and what is your opinion of the allegations of some people that the youth have become religiously radical these days?

[Sha'rawi] To any man, radicalism means that the youth hold a position that is radical in comparison to the position he holds. Who says this? Who says that the youth are radical? It is certain that whoever says this is not committed religiously and considers whoever is committed religiously a radical.

Moreover, let us ask: Are those who demand the application of a system in which they believe radicals? Is one who says that the society in which I live does not apply the Islamic *shari'ah* [Islamic law] a radical? Is one who demands that liquor plants be shut down a radical? Is one who demands separation of men from women in the various educational phases, especially the university phase, a radical? Is this radicalism? It is adherence to and faith in religion. The uncommitted consider those who say these things radicals.

[AL-SIYASAH] But those who call themselves the Islamic groups have multiplied and become numerous. Is this Islam?

[Sha'rawi] This multiplicity of the Islamic groups signifies one fact, namely, that religion has no patron. If this religion had a government to protect it, then these Islamic groups, which have multiplied recently, would not have come into existence. The government here in Egypt protects its system. This is why nobody has alleged that there are multiple systems ruling the country. The same applies to religion. If there were a government protecting it, the Islamic groups would have not multiplied.

But for religion, the inverse is true. This is why every mosque has its opinion, every group has its opinion, and

every individual has his opinion. Consequently, the Islamic groups have proliferated and multiplied.

This does not mean that I approve of these Islamic groups. The Koran says: "As for those who divide their religion and break up into sects, thou hast no part in them." Islam unites the Muslims and does not divide them into factions. This is why the Muslims must unite in Islam. What is serious is that most members of the Islamic groups speak of religion and Islam when they know very little about Islam. They speak with no knowledge, no understanding, and no profound examination of religion. This is why they are dangerous.

Oppressed Youth

[AL-SIYASAH] What is your opinion of youth's involvement in politics? Are you for or against it?

[Sha'rawi] I don't know how we permit youth, especially today's youth, to get involved in politics when they are still learning and when they still lack a lot of experience. How can we say party youth when the youth cannot even manage their private life successfully? How can one tell a college or school student who may succeed or may fail: Come and get involved in politics? How can this be right?

The youth are done an injustice. The youth have not been raised properly and the family has not played its required role in raising the youth. This is why we have begun to hear of the phenomenon of drugs and addiction. [passage omitted]

[AL-SIYASAH] Does this mean that you do not currently approve of the religious ulema's involvement in politics? What is your opinion of parties founded on religion?

[Sha'rawi] At present, politics is not religion. This is why I do not approve of ulema's involvement in politics. If religion becomes the policy and if the policy becomes religion, then it will be a different matter. As for religious parties, I do not accept the phrase "political parties founded on religion." Why? Because politics are an intellectual human struggle against another human thinking. It is the struggle of human ideas. But religion in its true sense is the subjugation of human thought to divine thought, and the difference between the two is very great.

Yes We Have Erred

[AL-SIYASAH] If this is your idea of the youth generally, then how can we lead the youth movement toward the right direction and toward the religious values and teachings?

[Sha'rawi] The required correction is impossible because correction is the upbringing phase. The upbringing phase is followed by the disciplining phase that occurs at childhood. But when an individual becomes a young man, then this disciplining is useless. The solution is to learn from our experiences that that helps us cure the

youth. We, as educators and parents, must acknowledge that we have erred in raising the youth. We want to correct this mistake and the youth have to help us and have to accept our request that they abandon the youth phase for a period during which we obviate what was missed during the childhood and upbringing phase.

Preachers Done Injustice

[AL-SIYASAH] What is your opinion of the statement that the preachers are the cause of the aimlessness of the youth?

[Sha'rawi] The preachers are done an injustice because they have not failed to proclaim the permissible and the proscribed. Is there anybody who does not know what God has permitted and what He has prohibited? Have the preachers failed in this mission? Preachers teach the rule but they do not have the power to force others to apply it. Anybody who cannot impose God's path on his family puts the blame on the government.

Those who accuse preachers should apply God's law to what they know and those who blame the rulers should apply God's law to their kinsmen and families.

[AL-SIYASAH] What is your eminence's opinion of those who proclaim society infidel?

[Sha'rawi] We must first learn that the issues of faith and infidelity and of promoting virtue and prohibiting vice have become means to achieve objectives that have nothing at all to do with religion.

We must also know that when one says, "I attest that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is his Prophet," then nobody may accuse such a person of infidelity. Should anybody accuse him, then we should tell the accuser what the Prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, said: "Can you see into his heart?"

Let us, moreover, ask: Who in Egypt denies the words "There is no god but God and Muhammad is his Prophet?" Who in Egypt rejects God's law? Nobody in Egypt rejects God's law on whatever is governed by an explicit and clear provision. It is about Egypt's people that the Prophet said: "They are bonded to the day of resurrection." After all this, can we say that Egypt is an infidel nation? Should we say this about Egypt, which exported Islam to the entire world?

Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il

Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il's viewpoint was different, as made evident by the following interview:

[AL-SIYASAH] How do you explain the causes of the recurrent clash between the Islamic groups and the police—a clash that has claimed tens of victims from both sides?

[Abu-Isma'il] I do not always defend one viewpoint and not the other. It suffices to say that the judiciary have dismissed every case in which thousands of members of

the Islamic groups have been arrested because of so-called radicalism. If the Islamic groups had committed crimes, the judiciary would not have stood with them. What more does one want than having the judiciary stand between the minister and his victims and constantly deciding against the minister and for his victims?

As to the statements that the Islamic groups operate through organizations armed with knives and chains, they are no more than lies and rumors disseminated by the press to justify the Interior Ministry's methods. Prove to me the truth of what you say. [passage omitted]

[AL-SIYASAH] How can an end be put to the clash between the Islamic groups and the police?

[Abu-Isma'il] Ending this issue must comply with God's words: "O ye who believe, obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those charged with authority among you." This exhortation urges both shepherd and flock to obey God and His Prophet. It also urges the flock to obey him who is charged with authority if he obeys God and His Prophet. If disagreement develops between shepherd and flock, then they should refer their disagreement to God's book and *Sunna* [sayings and doings of the Prophet later established as legally binding precedent] in application of God's words: "If ye differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to God and His Prophet if ye do believe in God and the Last Day."

If the Islamic groups say that alcohol is proscribed, when Bani Suwayf governor issues a decree closing bars, bar owners sue before the courts that order reopening the bars as long as the law contains a provision that says, "There can be no punishment without a provision." So how can the advocates of Islam meet with these people? God says, "If you differ in anything among yourselves, refer it to God and His Prophet" and they refuse to refer matters to God and His Prophet. So how can we meet with them? If we tell them that they have strayed, they tell us that we are radicals. So how can a meeting occur? They do not want the Islamic cure or the Islamic solution and they ridicule the slogan that Islam is the solution. So how can a meeting occur? [passage omitted]

[AL-SIYASAH] In the "fire survivors" trial, you gave testimony that aroused such a severe controversy that the prosecution demanded that you be tried for agreeing with what the Islamic groups' youths said. What is your comment now on that testimony?

[Abu-Isma'il] I am not at liberty to speak of a testimony I made before the court, especially since the case is still under consideration by the court. I will, however, say that I did not go to the court voluntarily but was summoned to testify. There, I had to tell the truth because the gallows were waiting to execute people. Whoever examines what the republic's mufti said finds that his statements agree with me 100 percent. When asked "do you see the permissible as being lawful," the mufti answered: "Yes, the permissible is lawful."

Then the mufti was asked: What is your opinion of a government that permits the proscribed, such as alcohol and gambling? He said: It is in error. They told him: We want a religious answer. The mufti responded: There is no doubt that whoever permits something proscribed by God is an infidel.

Ultimately, what more than the mufti did I say?

[AL-SIYASAH] How about preventing vice by taking matters into one's own hands? With your testimony, you approved what the youth had done by taking matters into their own hands to prevent vice. Many jurists consider this to be wrong on the basis that preventing vice...

[Abu-Isma'il] Many people say that if everybody were authorized to prevent vice by taking matters into his own hand, then the streets would turn into murder arenas. I respond by saying that the objective of prohibiting vice by taking matters into one's own hands means that vice has come under private protection and has spread and proliferated. The Prophet, God's peace and prayers be upon him, says: Whoever among you sees vice, then let him change it with his hand. If he cannot, then with his tongue. If he still cannot, then with his heart, and this is faith at its weakest. The Prophet's *hadith* [narrative relating deeds and utterances of the Prophet and his Companions] is intended for all people and not for certain people. Moreover, there is nothing in the *hadith* to indicate that the "whoever" mentioned is intended for certain people and not others.

[AL-SIYASAH] So you stress that preventing vice is the responsibility of every member of society?

[Abu-Isma'il] Yes, it is the responsibility of every capable individual. As to those who say that life will become anarchic if everybody is allowed to prevent vice with his own hand, I tell them life turns into anarchy when vice is allowed to spread. [passage omitted]

[AL-SIYASAH] What about proclaiming society infidel?

[Abu-Isma'il] We have not declared the Egyptian people infidel and we have not said this. If Shaykh al-Sha'rawi asks in the statement who says that Egypt is infidel and adds that Egypt is the party that defeated the Tatars and the Crusaders and that it is al-Azhar's country, then we tell the shaykh: You are right. But also say that Egypt has unanimously inserted in the constitution Article 2 that states that the Islamic *shari'ah* is the main source of legislation. Say also that Egypt unanimously supported the Islamic tendency and sacrificed 100,000 martyrs in Palestine and is prepared to defend al-Aqsa [mosque in East Jerusalem] to the last breath. But where does Shaykh Sha'rawi stand vis-a-vis what Egypt has unanimously approved and what it has inserted in the constitution?

Who has declared the Egyptian people to be infidel and who is Shaykh al-Sha'rawi responding to? How does he say we will carry out what is in the head when we eat from the hoe?

I tell him: You will not eat from the hoe unless you carry out what is in the head because God says: "If the people of the towns had but believed and feared God, We should indeed have opened out to them blessings from heaven and earth." God also says: "Ask forgiveness of your Lord, and He will send you the skies pouring abundant rain."

Shaykh al-Sha'rawi has also said: I do not want to rule with Islam but want to be ruled by Islam. He is thus demanding what the Muslim youth are demanding. The youth have not said more than Shaykh al-Sha'rawi has said. This is what they demand and practice. Besides, with this statement, Shaykh al-Sha'rawi has demanded what is in his head before eating from his hoe.

[AL-SIYASAH] And what about declaring the government to be infidel?

[Abu-Isma'il] I am not at liberty to answer this question on the pages of the press. I have answered it in the court. There is a difference between talking to the press and being asked by a court. If asked by a court, then I take into my account the fact that gallows are waiting to execute people. So I must necessarily feel embarrassed by secrecy and I would put my life on the palm of my hand as a price for the word of truth. Moreover, I did not go to the court voluntarily but was summoned to testify. The court is not a public place and those who were behind bars were not there as a result of their testimony. I said the word of truth and I do not wish to reiterate it on the pages of the press until the case is concluded.

Applying *Shari'ah*

[AL-SIYASAH] The Muslim Brotherhood, the biggest Islamic group in Egypt, is accused of supporting the radical groups. What is your opinion?

[Abu-Isma'il] Muhammad Hamid Abu-al-Nasr, the Muslim Brotherhood grand master, can deny and refute this accusation. He is the brotherhood's spokesman. But I can say the Muslim Brotherhood's constitution is the Koran and its imam is God's Prophet. There is no doubt that the Prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, was accused of being a sorcerer, a soothsayer, a madman, and a liar. So it is not surprising that those who follow his path and adhere to his course are accused of such things. I wonder: How true are these accusations and for what is the Muslim Brotherhood reproached? [passage omitted]

Results of Mubarak-Economists Meeting Published

90OA0375ACairo AL-AHRAMAL-IQTISADI in Arabic
12 Feb 90 pp 51, 72

[Article by Hidayat 'Abd-al-Nabi]

[Text] Perhaps the most significant meeting that will determine the country's economic course, although no decisions were taken during it, was the one held by

President Mubarak on Wednesday 31 January in preparation for taking the most important decisions that would affect Egypt's economic life and trends since the nationalization decisions. The meeting was attended by economic experts, bankers, ministers, and former ministers.

As we are preparing for extremely important talks with the World Bank mission in the middle of this month, 1990 is evidently bound to witness important economic decisions for further liberating the Egyptian economy from the shackles that are currently hindering the realization of a better performance in coming years.

Standing on the threshold of these important changes, we must take an accurate look through the keyhole at what has taken place at President Mubarak's meeting with more than 25 public figure specialists in the administrative, economic, and banking sciences.

We shall throw light on this meeting through the 10 points on which President Mubarak concentrated in response to the concepts outlined in 20 points during the discussion.

At the outset the experts stressed the need to take further steps to liberate exports. In this regard, discussions dealt with the present measures to liberate exports that have been reduced from 10 to seven steps.

Responding, President Mubarak explained the need to pay greater attention to liberating exports and removing all the obstacles that were brought up at the meeting, and the need to set up a higher council for exports. The president noted that chairmanship of this council should be assigned to a specialized person who is free from ministerial or executive duties in order to give the council a boost and to allow it time to take this action.

The experts then stated their views regarding the rate of exchange.

They evaluated the present system of fixing the exchange rate in the free exchange market, the difference between the free exchange market and the prevailing rate based on the export volume, the incentives to increase exports, and the exporter's preference to offer his products in the local market.

They also discussed the proposed policies to attract private deposits in the free banking market in view of the rapid changes of foreign currency rates.

Discussions then focused on the difference between liberating the Egyptian pound rate in relation to foreign currencies and the difference between liberating and floating the Egyptian pound. Discussion also dealt with the importance of gradually enhancing the Egyptian pound rate versus the dollar in a freer manner, or what is known as the mechanism of gradually enhancing the Egyptian pound.

Discussions also centered on the fact that the steps taken by the government with respect to the exchange market were prudent and bold, stressing the importance of

continuing with these steps in view of their importance in attracting cash liquidity available in private hands.

Discussions dealt with the importance of invigorating the stock market by offering stocks of successful companies in order to encourage private investment.

The negative effect of having two different rates for imports was also discussed, as well as the negative effects of failure to respect the confidentiality of private deposits in banks and the importance of enacting legislation that would insure the confidentiality of bank accounts both for Egyptians and foreigners in order to promote confidence in banks. Revealing such accounts should be only by court order.

The serious effects of having a free rate of exchange without the Central Bank having enough cash reserves in order to maintain a balance was brought up.

The negative aspect of a single step rate of exchange, the effect of this on the budget deficit, and the rise in prices of basic commodities for limited income people, to which it could lead, were also debated.

It was also pointed out that the government has taken great steps on the path to reforming the rate of exchange and halting to a certain extent the increase in the amount of subsidy.

Reducing unnecessary utilizations in the exchange market and increasing the budget deficit which constitutes an element of pressure was also discussed.

The president stressed the importance of building confidence in the Egyptian economy, the exchange sector, and the Egyptian banks, both in the short term and middle range term. The president charged the government with carrying out a study of the necessary bills to achieve this confidence and to preserve the security and respect for private deposits and accounts.

The experts then brought up the following issues:

- The importance of the fact that resources should be genuine savings.
- The basic solution for the deficit problem should not be through resort to financial accounting systems, but rather should be through a real increase in production. The issuing of new bank notes has dropped from 19 percent in 1985 to 6.5 percent in the last three years.
- The budget deficit is the actual result of subsidy to services, such as education, health, water, and railroads. The bottom line deficit is not that of one fiscal year, but reflects the financial situation in the fiscal years up to the date the budget is submitted.
- The importance of dealing with the economic problems in the long term, restructuring the Egyptian economy, and laying down programs for adapting the economy to world changes and to the current talks with international establishments with a view to narrowing the points of difference. It is also important to determine and stabilize the volume of subsidy in a

clear manner and to rationalize it in order to insure that it reaches those entitled to it.

The points on which President Mubarak focused in response to the discussions were as follows:

- Adherence to the policy of economic reform based on step-by-step implementation policies, taking into consideration the citizens' abilities and endurance. These policies represent the points of difference with the World Bank.
- Subsidy is essential for the realization of income, but what is more important is to adopt policies that would ensure that subsidy reaches those really entitled to it and would prevent it reaching the well off or the exploiters because of the multiplicity of prices. It is also important to gradually deal with the question of subsidy and to strike a balance between wages and prices, while linking this to real production rates in order to avoid unexpected rise in prices.
- It is necessary to strike a balance between agricultural, industrial, touristic, investment, and infrastructure development policies, he said, pointing out that it is difficult to differentiate between these in order to achieve objectives that would serve the export policy or the policy of providing food and the citizen's needs. He pointed out that agriculture represents a basic element of industrialization and that importance is attached to agricultural expansion that would facilitate attaining the desired goals of providing food. Expansion of the farm land area is dependent upon well-known factors.

The experts then voiced the following views:

- It is important to establish a south-south dialogue in view of Egypt's importance and status in the field of cooperation with the existing world economic blocs in a manner compatible with Egypt's economic interests.
- Despite the existence of certain crises, in the long term the Egyptian economy has strong future points, namely the ability to build the infrastructure within a short time.
- Development priorities and placing industrialization in the forefront without ignoring or neglecting agriculture and tourism is essential.
- Increasing national production should be according to a plan that would achieve the desired increase in national production by laying down a national plan for exports and for developing and liberating the national economy by doing away with the obligatory savings system attached to exports, and insuring that the subsidy is directed to the needy people and not to the commodity.
- The question of a lack of marketing studies serving exports and the importance of establishing an agency for marketing studies, particularly with regard to export goods, was brought up.

President Mubarak stated his views in the following points:

- The importance of paying attention to the industry and its constituent elements and modernizing it

through replacements and renovations. Opening investment opportunities in the field of agriculture in order to achieve export targets and to produce competitive goods in order to curb imports.

- It is important to pay attention to tourism as a principal source of income, and to expand and develop it with the aim of creating communities and industries that would earn foreign currencies.

The president called for paying attention to the infrastructure although it does not produce returns directly; yet its returns are part of the returns from agriculture, industry, tourism, commerce and all other activities that are the basis for carrying out and developing relating activities.

It is the government's policy to take interest in the public sector and private sector in order to advance in serving the national economy. Both the public sector and private sector play a strategic role.

The aim of offering shares of joint companies and locally owned companies is to serve managing the state's capital and give individuals the opportunity to own such shares, and also in order to activate the stock market and the reinvestment of these funds in projects that serve the national economy and help to activate it.

It is important to lay down a strategic policy governing production increase as a fundamental matter according to a strategy that defines investment with all resources, and links production to export goals suitable for the needs of foreign markets and the local market.

It is important to benefit from the views that have been expressed and to attach greater importance to exports.

What, therefore, shall we expect from this extremely important meeting?

First, we expect that it will be followed by further meetings on the level of experts and of the Democratic National Party (DNP) specialized committees under President Mubarak's chairmanship.

We also expect that during this year will be followed by the most important economic decisions pertaining to interest rates on deposits and loans, the liberation of the pound rate of exchange in relation to other foreign currencies, encouragement of private investment by offering shares of successful companies, and the preservation of confidentiality of bank accounts of Egyptians and foreigners by enacting legislations to this effect.

All this is of extreme importance and represents a major turning point in the national economy activity.

Official Notes Liability of Ministers to Prosecution
90OA0338A Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 10 Feb 90 p 5

[Article by Hasan Hafiz: "There Is No Law for Trying Ministers!"]

[Text] A number of citizens have made requests that parliamentary immunity be lifted from some ministers

who are members of the Consultative Council for their failure to implement judicial decrees which had to be implemented, whether issued by the administrative courts or the national courts, against the former interior minister and the ministers of scientific research and manpower. These ministers patently used every means to nullify the decrees or not implement them! Thereby the constitution would have been violated, the decrees of the court invalidated and the law sullied, and the departments stopped from functioning freely. The intention became clear and the secret was revealed when the legislative committee of this Council claimed that a minister cannot be tried except under the law for trying ministers; a law which has not yet been promulgated! The responsibility for promulgating the law rests on the shoulders of the President, in his capacity as head of the executive authority, and the legislative authority represented in the People's Council. In this of all laws, the law for trying ministers, the Consultative Council is not exempt from sharing responsibility also, because it is one of the supplementary laws to the constitution, of which Article 194 stipulates: "The Consultative Council has jurisdiction over studying and proposing what it thinks will guarantee protection of the basic elements of society and its highest values and rights and freedoms and public duties." Article 45 of the constitution includes: "The private life of citizens is a sanctity which the law protects. Postal and telegraph communications, telephone conversations, and other means of contact are inviolable and their secrecy is guaranteed," etc. Article 72 [says]: "Decrees are issued and implemented in the name of the people. For the public officials concerned to refrain from carrying them out is a crime punishable by law. In this case, the condemned has the right to bring direct proceedings to the court concerned."

Thus, whereas the constitution entrusted the Consultative Council, which is a nonlegislative and nonregulatory council, to study and propose what it sees fit to guarantee the protection of rights and freedoms, the ministers drew a weapon to invalidate articles of the constitution and not carry out decrees of the court in order to protect a class of society (that is, the ministers), so that they may commit all the crimes they want against the right of the state and the right of the people without being held accountable or tried, or even simply questioned!

Finally, the President was meeting with intellectuals and men of letters and science at the opening of the book fair, and a question was thrown out: Is there no law for trying ministers? And the answer, which rung in the hall, was: Indeed there is a law for trying ministers.

Ministerial Responsibility

To begin with, it would be good for us to mention that ministerial responsibility, in its best definition, according to the learned Barthelmy in his book "Constitutional Law" is: the three ministerial responsibilities—political, criminal, and civil—which are distinguished by their penalties. The penalty of political responsibility is resignation. The penalty of criminal responsibility affects the person in his body or his property. The penalty of civil responsibility is compensating the injured party.

These three responsibilities may be realized in one act the minister commits. For example, if he exploited his influence or extended his hand to state property, he could be criminally prosecuted, made to return what he took, and resign from his post. We must distinguish between the crimes they commit while carrying out their duties and the crimes which have no connection with these duties, or in other words the crimes they commit in their private lives, for they are questioned about the latter like other individuals and are tried for them before the general courts and the regular penal code applies.

We should not forget that political responsibility is distinct from criminal and ministerial responsibility in that the latter two are personal whereas political responsibility may be collective. That is, the ministry as a whole may bear the responsibility for one or more mistakes by the minister, and the ministry may stick with the minister responsible and offer its resignation. The scholar Diji [as published] defines collective responsibility for the public policy of the state as: "It is a responsibility resulting from every action the ministry takes inside or outside the country, whether this action is taken by law or regulation, or on orders of the officials, or is connected with the appointment or dismissal of an official or even with the Council of Ministers' refraining from taking action."

Likewise the constitution stipulates the minister's responsibility for the actions of his ministry, and the constitution ensures the ministers' responsibility in Article 126 as follows: "The ministers are responsible to the People's Assembly for the public policy of the state, and each minister is responsible for the actions of his ministry. Obviously, the minister's individual responsibility differs from the ministry's responsibility for the public policy of the state, since this responsibility covers every action by the minister in his ministry and every action taken by one of his subordinate officials, even if this action is purely administrative. If the Council disapproves of one of his actions, the minister must resign according to the constitution."

What Does the Constitution Say the Ministers' Criminal Responsibility Is?

Let us move now from the ministers' political responsibility to the criminal responsibility facing them, which is the essence of the proposition, for Article 159 of the constitution arranged for referring the minister to trial as follows: The President and the People's Assembly have the right to refer the minister to trial for crimes he committed during the conduct of his official duties or because of them. The resolution of the People's Assembly charging the minister will be based upon a proposal made by at least one-fifth of its members, and the charging resolution will only be issued by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the Assembly.

Here it seems that the authority to charge has been entrusted to the People's Assembly alone, just as it appears that the number of members required to propose

charging the minister cannot be less than one-fifth of its members, that is, 92 at least, while the charging resolution requires 306 members.

It is observed from the text of the article pertaining to the trial proceedings and its guarantees, that the constitution assigned penalties which can be inflicted to the law for trying ministers.

It is worth mentioning that law number 247 for 1956 concerning trying the President and ministers was passed during the regime of President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. It may have been the first law passed in this regard in the history of parliamentary life in Egypt since 1924, even though attempts were made and draft laws pertaining to trying ministers were prepared during the tenure of the second Wafd cabinet in 1930 headed by Mustafa al-Nahas Pasha. But they were abandoned and the government submitted its resignation, announcing that before the Chamber of Deputies in its session of June of that year. It ruled for only a few months after it won in the elections because the palace did not approve of the promulgation of the law of the Council of Ministers, fearing the ministers' fear and that they would not falsify an election or attack a constitution.

The chairman of the People's Assembly, Dr. Rif'at al-Mahjub, persists in disparaging those who cite the constitution of 1923, as though it does not give free rein. And a parliamentary chamber, the Council, claims that a minister's immunity cannot be lifted because no law for trying ministers has been passed. In fact, the 1923 constitution stipulated in its Article 70 that: "Until a special law for trying ministers is passed, the special rules council will itself set the course to follow in trying ministers." And Article 67 of this constitution arranged for the composition of this council, [thus]: The special council is to be composed of the president of the Supreme Indigenous Court (the president of the Cairo Supreme Court of Appeals now) as chairman, with 16 members, eight of them members of the Senate chosen by lot, and eight Egyptian judges of that court in order of seniority. Then it was followed by Article 68, [which states]: "The special rules council will apply the law of penal code in the crimes provided for in it."

Law Number 79

Whereas the association [with Syria] is not an area of discussion, still, during the union with Syria, Law 79 of 1958 was passed concerning trying ministers in the Egyptian and Syrian regions. In the second paragraph of the law of promulgation, it was stated [that]: "Every text which contradicts the rulings of the attendant law is cancelled. That is, Law 79, which was passed in 1958, did not totally cancel the 1956 law but only cancelled all decrees pertaining to trying ministers that contradicted it. Thereupon the law of 1958 suddenly remains what must be applied when trying ministers, since no new law was passed after the constitution of 1971.

However, since this law 79 was passed in the era of the union and concerned trying ministers in the Egyptian

and Syrian regions, and since the high court for trying ministers (Article 1) was to be composed of 12 members, six of them from among the members of the National Assembly and six from among the counsellors of the Egyptian Court of Cassation, all chosen by lot, and an equal number in a reserve capacity, and since it was stipulated that ministerial trials in the Syrian region would include counsellors from the Syrian Court of Cassation, and this law could not be implemented after the union was dissolved, nothing would have been easier than changing some of its wording and provisions and cancelling what applied to the Syrian region, if there was any intention of respecting the constitution and need to promulgate this law, especially since emergency laws and a law protecting what is valued from vice were passed 10 years ago. Nor was it a priority that the law for trying ministers not be quiescent, with no feeling or motion in it, the ministers not being held accountable for any conduct during their incumbency. Rather, the matter reached the legislative committee in the Consultative Council, according to the press, and perhaps it sincerely felt that immunity cannot be lifted from a minister who resigned so long as he is held responsible for action he took while in power and because of it, since the committee has not published its decision yet and it was assumed that it would make a decision within 15 days of the request to lift the immunity or even after that.

A strange and perplexing matter, and I am not talking about the situation of a specific former minister, is that the Court of Cassation decided that the regular courts had jurisdiction in trying former ministers as long as the proceedings were not underway before they left their posts.

Accordingly, the trial of some former ministers proceeded; those charged with committing criminal acts during the performance of their duties and because of them. That is the case of the losses of EgyptAir Inc. and the Boeing aircraft deal and the contract for the loan of \$60 million.

The accused in the case were former Minister of Aviation Engineer Ahmad Nuh and former Deputy Prime Minister of Economy Muhammad 'Abdullah Marzuban. The criminal court acquitted them, but when the proceedings got underway, legal problems were raised about the extent of the constitutionality of trying former ministers before the regular jurisprudence, like other civilians, which resulted in the Court of Cassation's permitting their trial to be held before the regular courts.

How the country and justice need this law passed, especially after the word "resignation" disappeared from the political dictionary, "for greed broke men's necks"! Some ministers no longer pay attention to criticism, the incumbent no longer fears justice, and some who held the reins of power no longer set a good example in respecting the law. In fact, the opposite came to be the case with some when attacking the rules of jurisprudence became customary in the People's Assembly, which is the overseer of the government's activities. The symbols

of the system began to get busy and increase their zeal and make up excuses and invent a precept that the power of the minister is derived from his attacking rights and freedoms. And some others were obstinate in not submitting to the law and not carrying out the decrees of the courts.

Yes! The matter does not go beyond craze for position.

God bless the leader Mustafa al-Nahas Pasha when he stood in the session of 17 June 1930 announcing the resignation of his cabinet because of its inability to present to Parliament a law for trying ministers. The session began with a short statement with the [following] text: "When the present Council of Ministers assumed power, it pledged itself to uphold the provisions of the constitution and to enclose it with a fence of legislation guaranteeing it continuous life and uninterrupted growth. I referred to that in my letter accepting the premiership and the speech from the throne included it. But the Council of Ministers was not able to present to Parliament this legislation, the law for trying the cabinet which Article 68 of the constitution requires. Therefore it thought it its duty to submit its resignation. We ask God to make us all successful in whatever is good for the country."

Then he and the ministers left the hall, and here stood the members 'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad, Dr. Ahmad Mahir, and 'Ali Najib—distinguished members of the Chamber of Deputies. Finally Deputy Wadi' Salib Effendi [said], "The question is not a question of the Council of Ministers but a question of the constitution, a question of the nation. Why are we afraid to decide immediately to declare confidence in the Council of Ministers?! Are we afraid that Parliament will be dissolved? Then let it be dissolved. We must not be less ready than the Council of Ministers to make sacrifices to protect the constitution. Finally, there were men in Egypt...and there still are!"

Official Lists Tax Breaks, Procedures for Investors

90OA0359A London AL-MAJALLAH
in Arabic 13 Feb 90 pp 46-47

[Article: "Mandated Procedures: How to Invest in Egypt"]

[Text] Should you want to invest in Egypt, you must follow specific procedures reviewed below by counsellor Mahmud al-Sharbini, ministry representative with the National Investment Bank and member of the Nationalist Party's Economic Committee. He explains steps new investors are to take under the new investment law No. 230 issued 20 July 1989.

Counselor al-Sharbini says procedures under the new law are simple and easy for investors of all nationalities. Because investors spearhead advancement and are in fact the foundation of all development, the new law stipulated that investment take place within the framework of general state policies and in line with the objectives and priorities of the national plan for economic and social development. That would maintain

investment in harmony with the plan and in accordance with the list of needed projects in order that investment may help realize the objectives of the national plan.

Following is a summary of procedures to be set in motion and guidelines to be followed by those investing in Egypt:

- Submit an investment application to the General Investment Authority at 8 'Adli street in Cairo.
- The application must state the amount and type of capital to be invested—whether it is in local or foreign funds or in the form of machinery and equipment.
- The project to be invested must be specific, conform to stated lists of various investment venues, and be in harmony with general state policies and with the objectives and priorities of the national plan.
- The application must state the legal makeup of the project to be invested as stipulated by Law No. 159 of 1981 (covering stock companies and limited partnerships) and any other applicable laws.
- The application is to be accompanied by economic feasibility studies and any other statements and documents that explain the nature and type of the project.
- After scrutinizing the application, the General Investment Authority will recommend a determination to its board of directors which will rule on the investment project on the basis of ground rules, procedures, and timetables to be set forth in the guidelines for the new legislation.
- The investor may begin founding procedures once the application is submitted provided that the contemplated activity falls within the scope of stated fields, activities, sites, and guidelines. He must first obtain the approval of the chairman of the authority's but this may take no longer than 15 days.

The General Investment Authority, under the new law, must implement the systems needed to facilitate credit and insurance for various investment risks by designating sites and contracting for them on behalf of other authorities; by obtaining for investors all permits needed from various government agencies under existing laws governing project setup, management, and operation; by registering imported investment capital and its currency of origin if imported in cash; by recording and evaluating asset shares and legal rights; and by auditing investment capital at the time of disposal or liquidation in preparation for repatriation or transfer abroad.

Investment Projects Defined

When issued, guidelines for Investment Law No. 230 for 1989 will offer many facilities and will open the door wide to investor participation in investment projects in accordance with the objectives and priorities of the national plan by offering many facilities, simplifying requirements, and easing regulations in order to help the investment accomplish its goals.

Article 2 of the law defines investment projects as any activity, regardless of its legal type, which has investment

operations approved by the General Investment Authority according to rules and regulations of the investment law.

The law also spells out procedures under the law for the repatriation or reexportation of capital or profits at the highest stated exchange rate on the date of transfer or reexportation.

The law allows Egyptian, Arab, or foreign capital the option to participate singly or jointly in any investment field such as arid desert land reclamation and cultivation, industry, tourism, and housing and rehabilitation. The General Investment Authority board is empowered to approve other venues. The projects, under Article 7 of the same law, are considered to be in the private sector regardless of their legal setup or the entity of Egyptian capital invested in them. They are to be exempt from rules and regulations governing public sector organizations and workers. It is therefore clear that the law allows such projects freedom of activity and ease of movement without being restricted by laws governing the public sector.

The law also vests investment projects with an important advantage that is also a most significant guarantee. Article 8 stipulates that: "The projects will not be subject to nationalization or expropriation. Their assets will not be subject to confiscation, seizure, freezing, guardianship, or trusteeship except via the courts." This guarantee assures investors against nationalization and expropriation.

Considerable Tax Breaks

The law specifically exempts investment output from mandatory pricing and profit ceilings and shields projects against financial or other burdens and obligations that would not be equally applicable to other private sector projects engaged in same field of activity.

The law also stipulates that housing built under the new law will not be subject to rent controls. It is the legislative intent that low and middle-income rental housing constructed by investment projects be exempt from rent controls and receive other tax advantages.

It is to be also pointed out that the law vests investment projects with many privileges and tax breaks. For example:

- Low and middle-income rental housing projects will be totally exempt for a period of 15 years
- They will also be exempt from taxes on commercial and industrial profits and from certain finance company taxes.
- Distributed project profits are exempt from taxes on the return of transferred capital and from general income taxes for a period of five years beginning on the first fiscal year following the startup of production or the beginning of operations. The tax holiday may be further extended by decision of the prime minister (head of the investment authority) for periods not to exceed five years.

- There is a 10-year tax holiday for projects implemented in new industrial zones, new urban centers, or remote regions.
- Tax holidays of 10 years, expandable to 15 years by a decree of the prime minister, will apply to projects for land reclamation and rehabilitation and for the construction of new cities and industrial zones.

Desert land reclamation and cultivation projects were granted the important advantage of 50-year leaseholds renewable for another 50-year term by decree of the council of ministers.

Counselor al-Sharbini adds that the law makes it easy for investors to open foreign currency accounts with banks accredited by the Central Bank of Egypt, thereby exempting them from Law No.97 of 1976 governing foreign exchange.

The undersecretary of ministry with the National Investment Bank gave the following summary of other tax advantages offered by the new law:

- An heir to capital invested in the form of funds, shares, or stock in projects implemented under the law will be forgiven the inheritance tax on 25 percent of the legacy.
- All contracts drawn in connection with the project will be exempt, until implementation is completed, from revenue stamps, and recording fees.
- Authority approved project expansions will also get tax holidays for a period of five years beginning on the first year following the startup of expanded production or activity.
- Distributed profits shall be exempt from general income taxes to the extent of 10 percent of the original value of the investor's capital share of the project. This may be increased to 20 percent if the invested share were in the form of general subscription stock amounting to no less than 40 percent.

Counselor al-Sharbini says that an investment project is entitled to import machinery and equipment and to export its output directly or through a third party. The legislation is also keen to provide investors with judicial safeguards by stipulating that a law suit can only be initiated with the consent of the Investment Authority which is mandated to make a decision on the matter within 15 days.

Former Chief of Staff Discusses Arab Unity, Israel

900A0309A Cairo AKHIR SA'AH
in Arabic 31 Jan 90 p 93

[Interview with former Chief of Staff Muhammad 'Ali Fahmi by Faruq al-Tawil; "Dialogue of the 1990's With a Hero of the Egyptian Missile War of 1973"; first three paragraphs are AKHIR SA'AH introduction; date and place not given]

[Text] Major General Hasan al-Badri, father of Egyptian military history, said at the beginning of the "Dialogue

of the 1990's" that normalization is a vicious battle, stronger than battles in wartime, and that we must strive for normalization because it is a continuation of the Arab-Israeli conflict through different means. He said that the leaders of this conflict are the intellectuals, the scholars, and the leaders of the professions. It is out of date for us to think that normalization is recreation or tourism.

Mahmud Riyadh, leading thinker on Arab issues, has rejected normalization, saying that it has happened, is over, and that this is enough. However, he has said, "We must daily reject Israel's violating the agreements, which will one day lead it to go too far with us, as it did in 1956." He also rejects the idea that we have learned or could learn anything from Israel. This week, we add to the dialogue team:

Lieutenant General Muhammad 'Ali Fahmi, hero of the famous wall of missiles, victor over Phantoms, and the first commander of the Air Defense Force after it was separated from the Air Force. We learned his name the week 16 Phantoms were lost in one week. He established, administered, and activated the wall of missiles from the War of Attrition to the October Ramadan War and downed the Israeli Stratocruiser [as published] spy plane. He graduated from universities in the United States and the Soviet Union, studied advanced strategy, and was a member of the Higher War College. His most recent position was chief of staff and military advisor to al-Sadat. He received the Military Star during the War of Attrition, the Star of Honor in the Ramadan War, and the Order of the Nile. With the fighter who witnessed the slaughter at Bahr al-Baqar and al-Za'faranah, fought against penetrations deep into the country, and with Husni Mubarak restored trust in leadership during our darkest hours in 1973, we begin our dialogue:

[Fahmi] The main problem is that there is a strategic vacuum in the region that Arab unity alone is capable of filling. However, unfortunately, cooperation among the Arab countries is not strong and often is structural and formalized. Even Israel cannot fill this vacuum, which makes it easy for the superpowers to interfere and use the vacuum strategically in their own interests. This is what we saw in the Iran-Iraq conflict when they intervened to settle the dispute and when they intervened in the 1973 War to save Israel from a devastating defeat. The only person who filled the vacuum was Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, who expanded to the natural borders from the Ural Mountains to the Red Sea and the sources of the Nile. For this reason, I say that Arab unity is the hope, is the reunification of the Arabs. Their manpower, money, intellect, and potential, all of which are available, will fill the vacuum; however, they are lost and the hope is not in sight.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Do you envision Arab Unity, or even the end of inter-Arab conflict in the not too distant future, the next 10 years, or will we continue to dream? As Mahmud Riyadh said, "whoever talks about greater Arab unity is practically mentally retarded." In all honesty, the matter of the Arabs is a dead end street. Each

country does as it pleases; even the Ba'th Party fought for Arab unity, and when it reached power in Syria and Iraq, the two wings fought. I do not mean they differed, they fought. What are we doing? Will we continue to dream of the hope of unity? Will we say Israel worked and worked until it gave us a severe inferiority complex? How long will we continue to sleep so the Israeli presence will not awaken us?

How long before Israeli progress will not prompt us to act and to be industrious and active like the Israelis? Will naturalization be the way to rouse the sleeping, as Maj Gen al-Badri said in his paper on normalization which we published last week? He said that our army improved, excelled, and defeated Israel because it was vigilant as a result of close contact and fighting with Israel. Will we continue to hold cultural, scientific, and economic discussions in order to fulfill the peace plan?

[Fahmi] First of all, the army did not learn from Israel, and there is no civilization gap between us and them; rather, Egypt is civilization. I remember when the editor of AVIATION WEEK came here after the 1973 War and visited a missile unit and the Technical College. He said, "You are 'coming back' to yourselves. I am surprised by this progress; there is no technological gap between you and Israel." I also remember when they launched the satellite, Peres spoke of the technological gap in order to heighten the Arabs' feelings of inferiority. I also remember during the Vietnam War, Moshe Dayan's saying that the Israeli Defense Forces could end the war in one year. Their Air Force commander said, "We can attack the North Pole with the Israeli Air Force." This nothing but Goebbels' [Nazi minister of propaganda] propaganda. You thought to yourself, "How did we catch their pilots 'like chickens' during the 1973 War?" Thank God, our standards are excellent, and we can repel anyone who thinks of attacking Egypt. Normalization is a battle, but no more fierce than war. We need nothing of importance from Israel. The Prophet, God bless him and grant him salvation, visited his Jewish neighbor when he was ill. There is a neighborhood and there are neighborhood laws, but Israel does not observe these laws, insisting on harming its neighbors and removing people from their homes. The general climate affects us directly and indirectly affects completion of normalization. Normalization is not planted, is not imposed, is not created... it is a process, and this requires time. In order for a process to bear fruit, the climate must be prepared to encourage it. What took 40 years to destroy will not be restored in a day and a night. A suitable atmosphere requires the cooperation of the two parties. Furthermore, Egyptian-Israeli normalization or any bilateral normalization is affected by the general atmosphere in the region, and any wind blowing from the neighbors unquestionably affects Egyptian-Israeli cooperation. We cannot ignore our neighbors. Israel must change its policy toward its neighbors, eliminating the hostile aspects, so that an atmosphere suitable for normalization pervades the entire region. It must also adhere to the behavior of a state and follow the methods of a respected state, for it became a state after being nothing but an army.

[AKHIR SA'AH] How long will Israel continue to live like the naughty child with the United States' protecting its every transgression?

[Fahmi] Israel does as it pleases, "relying on Daddy" who will give it everything. Its reliance on the United States in ignoring international agreements and laws will not last forever. And its taking on the role of the naughty child in the region, who is never held responsible under protection of the veto, will not last, because global changes, the U.S.-Soviet reconciliation, and the changes in Eastern Europe, have all eliminated Israel's role. The United States no longer needs Israel to discipline 'Abd-al-Nasir or to get rid of Communism. 'Abd-al-Nasir brought in Communism; Syria did the same. Libya was full of Soviet experts. Consequently, the United States needed a policeman, someone to protect its interests. But what does the United States need today? Who is its enemy today? What U.S. interests are threatened and who is threatening them? Israel has become an annoying burden on the United States, which will be clear in the next few years. I believe that the United States no longer needs a policeman in the region, and I believe that the United States will support the moderate countries and stop all the encroachments by the naughty child whose role is over. However, we realize that Israel is here to stay, but not at the expense of the Palestinians. Israel must respect their neighbors, return the Golan to Syria and the West Bank and Gaza Strip to the Palestinians, and leave Lebanon. Then relations can be normal; this alone will guarantee the permanence of Israel. This is better than relying on the role of the United States, which is waning.

[AKHIR SA'AH] I fear the cleverness of the Israelis, who used the United States and the Soviet Union to establish their state in 1948 and rode the British and French horse in 1956, reaching the Suez Canal, as they did with Mysteres and Mirages in 1967. Then they rode the U.S. horse after DeGaulle refused them. They are like the "overpowering" wife, who can legally marry a different husband every day. We are losing our friends; in fact, sometimes we lose ourselves, as you have confirmed in your assessment of Arab unity. We are still speaking with our sentiments instead of in our interest.

[Fahmi] This is why I say that we should learn from them their language, their methods, and what they say to the superpowers, and take more from these countries than their laws. We should not be too proud to seek knowledge. Do not forget that Israel does not want peace. It was forced upon it and it became entangled. Israel was built on war, and the lack of peace on its territory is to our benefit until the fighter rests and begins a normal life; then Israel will become a small island in the middle of an Arab ocean. Normalization feeds peace; we regained one-fourth of Sinai through war and three-fourths through peace.

Although it is very serious and realizes Ben-Gurion's dream of increasing Israel's population to 5 million, emigration to Israel does not bother me. The Soviet

Union is the world's repository for Jews, and there must be an Arab strategy to combat this. We must be there when the waves of emigration begin. We must make emigration a weapon against Israel. This requires efforts and time. Arab cleverness can counter Israeli cleverness. However, they are doing things which we cannot do because they are against our nature. Be careful, not all the changes are in Israel's interests; the opposite may be true. This prompts us to take action and not to be afraid or intimidated. Action is always better than keeping quiet. The new Arab entities are unquestionably a sound beginning to achieve our goals, if inter-Arab disputes do not disturb our future.

Ezer Weizman came here after the 1973 War with his son, who suffers from Parkinson's disease after being shot during the War of Attrition. The father was quite affected and kept saying, "This is what we have caused through war. Why do we not talk?"

Hilmi Stresses Legal Means for Party Formation

90OA0359B Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI
in Arabic 25 Feb 90 p 8

[Article by Muhammad Yusif al-Masri: "Speaker of Consultative Council: Supremacy of Law Is the Foundation of Government; All Citizens and State Agencies Should Abide by It"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[AL-AHRAM] A question, with your permission. How do the Parties Law and the Party Committee view conflicts within Egyptian parties which are so serious as to become schisms? How can such conflicts be avoided in the future?

[Hilmi] Party organizations should be the ones to deal with such conflicts guided by their by-laws without interference from the Committee for Political Party Affairs.

In other words, conflicts and dissension among members of the same party are considered an internal affair of that party. Responsibility for resolving internal problems rest with the party itself, through its systems and by-laws. [passage omitted]

[AL-AHRAM] Court relief from Party Committee rulings has been sought by numerous new parties such as the Nasserite, Green, al-Sahwah [as published], Awakening, Republican, and Young Egypt parties. Were those parties unable to draw differentiated platforms?

[Hilmi] You know that the system of government in this country is based on supremacy of law. This means that all state agencies, as well as citizens, must abide by the law.

The Party Law stipulates that all new political parties must meet certain conditions. When a new political party application is submitted to the Committee for Political Party Affairs, the committee scrutinizes it in the spirit of justice and total impartiality. [passage omitted]

The committee, under the law, must hear all concerned and must qualify its rulings. The law also stipulates that objections by the committee, as well as the underlying reasons, must be communicated to new party applicants by registered mail, return receipt requested, within 10 days of the ruling.

By the same token, the law give applicants the right to appeal committee decision to the Supreme Administrative Court chaired by the head of the State Council.

Prospective party founders who did not accede to committee rulings and who appealed them to the Supreme Administrative Court were acting within their rights under the Political Party Law.

Those rights have their origin in a universal constitutional principle that prohibits legal stipulations that shield any activity or administrative action from judicial oversight.

[AL-AHRAM] Permit us to ask your personal opinion of the numerical multiplicity of parties. Do you believe that our country has enough parties to represent its various political orientations?

[Hilmi] [passage omitted] That question can only be answered by the people themselves. Any group can, by legal means, request the formation of a new party, should it feel that its needs or desires to help serve its country are not being served by the various orientations and platforms of existing parties.

[AL-AHRAM] This brings us to a final question about criticisms leveled at certain parties, such as al-Ahrar, for publishing several newspapers. Others believe in the freedom to publish without regard to party channels.

How do you perceive this issue in view of the Press Authority Law No. 148 of 1980? There are numerous calls for amending this legislation.

[Hilmi] [passage omitted] I would like to emphasize that the Press Authority Law does not limit the right to publish newspapers to political parties. That right is guaranteed by law and constitution not only to political parties but also to public and private legal entities and to unions and associations.

On the subject of Press Authority Law amendments, Dean of Journalists Makram Ahmad Muhammad Ahmad stated that the Press Syndicate is preparing a study of its proposed amendments to Press Authority Law No. 148 for 1980.

The Supreme Press Council, once it receives draft amendments, will give its opinion on them under the law mandating that the Council's views on draft legislation that regulate press affairs must be reviewed before constitutional action is taken in that regard.

Parties Blamed for Low Registered Voter Figures

900A0360A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH
in Arabic 19 Feb 90 p 5

[Editorial by Hafiz Mahmud: "Failure on Part of All Parties"]

[Text] The government has made repeated appeals to those who do not hold voting cards to proceed immediately to register their names in the voter lists during December, the month designated by law for registering new names in these lists. It is surprising that these appeals have issued solely from the government and that the parties, whether supporting or opposing, have not contributed, considering that the people with direct interest in registering those entitled to vote are party leaders. It is not enough that I, as a party [as published], allege that the majority of the people support me when the outcome of elections proves the exact opposite. The talk about "rigged" elections continues to fill the air when no rigging is needed as long as those entitled to vote are not there to vote.

I will assume figuratively, not realistically, that the supporters of our five parties are equal and I will assume that the number of those registered in the voter lists are 15 million citizens, exceeding by 2 million or more the number in previous years. Then under this assumption, the number of voters supporting each party would amount to nearly 3 million. Are there any numbers of the sort?

Gentlemen, we amounted to 55 million people in December 1989. You are aware that any citizen aged 18 or older is entitled to vote. How many, do we think, are the citizens below this age?

I will assume that they number 20 million and they could not be more. So, those entitled to vote number nearly 35 million. If those registered in the voter lists total 15 million, then this means that 20 million are not there!

This means that the number of those not registered in the voter lists exceeds the number of those registered. Why? This why is addressed to our five parties.

If these parties were concerned with including their supporters' names in the voter registers, the average following of each party would amount to 7 million supporters, with the figure dropping to half this number for an unpopular party and growing to 1.5 the number for the majority party, meaning that the number of voters belonging to each party should range from 5-10 million voters. Does what we see or what we have seen come close to these numbers?

Instead of these parliamentary feuds between the two sides, I had hoped that we would all work to register all voters. If few are missing, that would be okay because they will not change the situation greatly. But the absence of 20 million is a tragedy by all criteria.

I understand it if a party does not get the vote of a million voters and if this is its natural size. We and the party must accept this fact. But to see none of our opposition parties get one-tenth the votes of those entitled to vote, then this is the explanatory note for this tragedy.

Don't you, gentlemen, think that paying attention to this issue is a lot more important than the disputes over the issues of a society that you have exceeded your right to represent in a sound popular way?

I fear that a future historian will come and say that none of these parties had the ability to represent the public opinion in figures. This does not mean that I do not appreciate what all the parliamentary assembly members, both supporters and opponents, say. On the contrary, I fully appreciate and respect them. But isn't it better, rather, isn't it a duty that this appreciation be based on the votes of millions, especially because nobody has prevented anybody from registering his name in the voter lists? What is more, the government, which is believed to be the beneficiary of small voter numbers, is the party that appeals to the voters to register their names every December. These appeals are recorded on newspaper pages and in some radio broadcasts. So what is the excuse of these people?

What is amazing is that registering in the voter lists costs people nothing. One pays no fee for the process and does not pay a single piaster for the voter card. Everything in this process is free of charge. The centers where voter names are registered are not far from anybody. These centers are between your homes. All there is to the matter is that a lot of people need to be enlightened. Who is responsible for this enlightenment?

Normally, party organizers are foremost among those responsible for this activity. So why are they abandoning this responsibility?

Perhaps this condition pleases them, and we don't know it!

AL-AHALI Contacts al-Minya Residents, Comments

Eyewitnesses Describe Violence

90AA0020A Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 14 Mar 90 p 7

[Article by Sulayman Shafiq and 'Abd-al-Rahim 'Ali: "Radical Groups Issue Appeal in Asyut and al-Minya; 'Light a Fire That Will Rock the Earth'; Campaign Against Minister of Interior, Describes Him as Lying Wolf; Citizens Denounce Extremism, Terrorism"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] A leaflet entitled "The Reply Came With No Delay" was distributed last Wednesday in al-Minya and Abu-Qurqas by radical groups. The leaflet, which directs its appeal to the masses, says, "Light a fire that will rock the earth under their feet. May the steps you take lead you to success."

A communique entitled "He Who is Killed Before Defending His Honor Dies a Martyr," was signed by radical groups in Asyut and distributed on Thursday. The leaflet, which presented provocative rumors attributed to so-called "Christian conspiracies" in most governorates of the republic, addressed the minister of the interior: "This is for you, executioners of state security, and for your lying minister, that timid wolf who is called Shaykh al-'Arab."

The leaflet stated, "We received your answer to the message about Christian conspiracies. It came through when you stormed the mosque of the Legal Society; when you posted guards at churches; when you tortured Muslims, and when you protected Christians." The communique concluded by asserting that the only implication to all this can be nothing else but cataclysmic. And when the cataclysm happens, remorse will be useless. "After all, we have defined our goal and mapped out our course. We will protect our mosques and our honor by bloodshed and retaliation. You are not above killing Ramiz al-'Ajjar. You better be on your guard because we will be watching you."

State Security Investigation officials went to the Secondary School for Girls in al-Minya in an attempt to assure citizens and deny the rumors that Christian girls were being kidnapped and killed.

By noon Wednesday, manifestations of civil strife had reached the town of Mallawi, which is located 50 kilometers south of al-Minya.

Dr. 'Ala' Hafiz, an eyewitness, says, "At noon Wednesday, students at the Secondary Vocational School walked out of school and proceeded to walk by the schools to bring the school day to an end."

The Bani Mazar Demonstrations: (Bani Mazar is located 50 kilometers north of al-Minya.) Mahmud Wani, a teacher at the Secondary Vocational Business School in Bani Mazar says, "[Students at] the vocational school in Bani Mazar, which is located four kilometers from the city, went out in a demonstration at noon last Wednesday. They walked by the secondary school and walked for one full hour, from the school to the main Port Sa'id Street where they started destroying stores owned by Muslims as well as Christians." Mr. Wani estimates that approximately 10 stores were destroyed. The police broke up the demonstration and arrested 15 persons.

Rif'at Sa'id Rizq, an employee of the Education Department, says that a large student demonstration at 12:30 PM took him by surprise. "The demonstrating students were throwing stones at the small goods store that is owned by my brother, Ra'uf Sa'id Rizq. As a result, the front of the store was destroyed, and the neon lights were broken."

Jurji 'Aziz Ayyub, a citizen who resides on Agricultural School Road, adds: "It was approximately 12:30 p.m. when approximately 10 students unexpectedly attacked

our house. When we tried closing the door to call the police, some of the demonstrators suddenly threw stones at us."

Jaballah al-Jayyar, who owns a small goods store, says, "All our lives Christians and Muslims have been living together, and nothing like that has ever happened."

Whose interests are being served by this?

Muhammad Ahmad Hasan Salih, vice principal of a school, says, "I have no explanation for what is happening except to say that a group of infiltrators is taking advantage of these adolescents and inciting civil strife."

Dr. Yusuf Ghattas owns a pharmacy on al-Jumhuriyah Street whose front was destroyed. He affirms, "No law and no religion would condone what happened." [passage omitted]

In Samalut, a town 20 miles north of al-Minya, Fu'ad Nashid, an agricultural engineer, says, "Leaflets were distributed last Wednesday and Thursday, and threatening letters wrapped around stones were thrown at churches. Security was notified, and churches, mosques, and schools were surrounded immediately."

Wednesday evening in al-Minya: Majdi Hilmi, an attorney in Abu-Qurqas, says he received an anonymous telephone call from someone who threatened to kill him because of his previous conversation with AL-AHALI. Mr. Hilmi added that he reported the telephone call to the police. The attorney then went on to say, "On Wednesday evening the car of Dr. Tal'at Fahim, the physician at the Medical Unit in Manshiyah Di'bis in Abu-Qurqas, was burned. Some citizens gathered in front of the Church of the Virgin in Ismant, a village subject to the authority of Abu-Qurqas. Fireballs were thrown at the homes of some Christians, and residents notified security."

"A few isolated incidents occurred in the town of al-Fikriyah in Abu-Qurqas, and fireballs were thrown on the homes of some Christians. William 'Adli's carpentry workshop was also burned." Before Attorney Majdi Hilmi came to the end of his statement, Engineer Subhi Bishri came forward to confirm to us that he too had received a death threat in a telephone call and that he had reported it to the public prosecutor's office.

Ahmad Zaghlul Tulbah, assistant secretary of the National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party [NPUG] in al-Minya, affirmed that events in Abu-Qurqas were tragic in every respect. Mr. Tulbah indicated that some security agencies had deliberately slowed down their response to these incidents. He said he came to that conclusion after an NPUG delegation visited the site of the incidents and that everyone had testified to that effect.

As an example of that deliberate slow response, Mr. Tulbah cited the incidents in the village of Bani 'Ubayd, where fire broke out in a mosque on Sunday morning, March 4. A rumor spread in the village that Christians

had set fire to the mosque, so radical groups set fire to the Church of the Virgin, which is the Catholic church in the village. Fire was started in a few stores owned by Sa'id Kinz Ibrahim, who is the village grocer; in the grocery store owned by Bushra Yunan; in a third store owned by Sa'd Zakhari Salih, and in a watchman's kiosk owned by Sa'd Ibrahim Saklah. Ahmad Zaghlul Tulbah went on to say, "Instead of promptly putting out these fires, the police came and arrested nine young Christians, who were trying to put out the fire, and accused them of starting the fire in the church."

"So that no one can accuse us of arbitrarily condemning security officers, let us say that a positive posture was taken in the village of al-Barba in Abu-Qurqas in response to the incidents which occurred there. That posture contrasted with the one taken by security officers last Wednesday. A few radical individuals had set fire to a tractor and a motorcycle owned by a Christian citizen in the village of Barba. The police responded promptly, and the police commissioner himself came, reprimanded the guards, and asked them to interfere promptly." Ahmad Zaghlul Tulbah said, "That change in attitude may have happened after Hamdi al-Buhayri, the old police commissioner, was transferred, and Brigadier General 'Abd-al-Majid 'Uwaydah al-Husayni was appointed the new commissioner."

Majdi Fahmi Ghattas, an injured patient at al-Minya General Hospital, said, "I was in my carpentry workshop on Thursday evening when 11 men wearing stockings over their faces suddenly came into the workshop. They beat me up with an iron bar and stabbed me in the stomach with a switchblade knife. I felt nothing after that." According to Dr. Jamal Isma'il the man's scalp had been cut, he had been stabbed in the stomach, and his right wrist as well as his left leg had been fractured. [passage omitted]

Dr. Najdi Wanis, assistant professor of psychology at al-Minya College of Education, adds, "The phenomenon of radicalism is not an Egyptian phenomenon. It comes to us from abroad." [passage omitted]

Dr. Jamal Matrir, president of the Association of Physicians in al-Minya, thinks that sectarian strife is alien to Egypt. "I believe that a third party, other than Muslims and Christians, is involved in this matter. To use a medical term, we must amputate this disease because it can consume this country [if we don't]." He concluded by saying that he considered this disease to be more dangerous than drugs and heroin, and he appealed to the government to use everything it has to fight this phenomenon. He said that professional associations were restricted and could not act as freely as the government could. That is why executive officials carry the greater burden in this matter.

Dr. Lutfi Rashid, member of the board of directors of the al-Minya chapter of the Physicians Association, adds, "Such phenomena were unknown to our generation. This phenomenon is spreading almost exclusively

amidst the new generation, and it is up to the professional associations to educate young professionals. This has to be the associations' main role so that young professionals can counteract any corruption in their midst."

Dr. Salah 'Abd-al-Qadir, director of health insurance for the fifth district and director of al-Minya's Charity Hospital, explains the reasons for radicalism. To him, the first cause for radicalism is religious ignorance, and that is the result of poor economic and living conditions. After the economic liberalization policy was put into effect, the gap between the classes grew and became wider. [passage omitted]

Mr. Mustafa Bayyumi, a novelist and member of the board of directors of the Literature Club at the monastery for Jesuit priests, says, "Radicalism is caused by the absence of a national plan, and the vacuum which this radicalism occupies now was generated by the socioeconomic crisis [in the country]." [passage omitted]

Awqaf Ministry Takes Over al-Haq Mosque

90AA0020B Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 14 Mar 90 p 7

[Text] The minister of *awqaf* [religious endowments] decided that as of last Wednesday, al-Haq Mosque in Abu-Qurqas was to be added to the other mosques that are under the ministry's control. It is known that the demonstrations which occurred in the city had started from that mosque on 2 March, after the Friday prayer service and following the sermon of 'Umar Ahmad Sutuhi, the mosque's prayer leader. In that sermon Shaykh Sutuhi called upon Muslims to defend what he said was the defiled honor of Muslim women. Although rumors about defiling the honor of Muslim women were denied in a statement sent by Shaykh 'Ali Sinusi, the ministry's authorized representative in al-Minya, Imam Sutuhi repeated those rumors in his sermon. Shaykh 'Ali Sinusi said that Shaykh 'Umar Sutuhi read the ministry's statement and then delivered his sermon in a manner that served the purposes of the radical groups. It was extraordinary that executive and popular agencies, meeting on the Sunday after the incidents, called for a meeting of Muslim and Christian clergymen in an attempt to patch up differences. That meeting was attended by Shaykh 'Umar Sutuhi who accused Christians of stirring up civil strife. He cited many stories which were denied by security and judicial agencies, and at the end of the meeting he asked that proponents of Islam be licensed to carry weapons to protect themselves from armed Christian clergymen.

Shaykh 'Ali al-Sinusi commented on the actions of the prayer leader of al-Haq Mosque by saying, "There are 614 mosques in al-Minya under the authority and supervision of the Ministry of Awqaf. There are also approximately 2,000 mosques for the people. Half of them, that is 1,000 mosques, have qualified Islamic advocates who receive pay for their work. This leaves 1,000 mosques we cannot control because we do not have the resources to control them. In addition, mosques are being built and

set up arbitrarily, and the fact that they are not subject to any executive, popular, or religious agency creates a suitable climate for radical groups."

AL-AHALI Blames Israel, Political System

90AA0020C Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 14 Mar 90 p 7

[Excerpts] Our Arab country has been subjected for some time to a colonialist, Zionist scheme whose aim is to strike our nation from within. This is being done to make it possible for Israel to uproot the Arab people of Palestine and to enable it to tighten its control over the economic and political capabilities of the Arabs. The effects of this destructive policy are being manifested in Israel's continued occupation of Palestine, in the disunity of the Lebanese people, in the outbreak of sectarian wars, in the fighting between Muslims and Christians, and in the phenomenon of internecine fighting among Muslims and among Shi'ites. All this is happening while the bloodshed continues in Lebanon over the ruins of the Lebanese people. And yet, there is no solution in sight.

And finally, this ill wind, worse than a poison bearing wind, blows on our country, destroying ties between people and provoking civil strife in the land of affection, fraternity, and peace. [passage omitted]

Society cannot remain cohesive and free from the destructive effects of moral crimes by allowing people to make false, unsubstantiated statements. These are nothing but biased and poisonous rumors which destroy the very foundations of society and create hostility between its members and its groups.

Religious extremism is a phenomenon that assumes many negative forms, the most dangerous of which is the use of violence against others, particularly religious and political minorities. Religious extremism also takes matters at their face value and does not probe any deeper to find the truth. It deals more with form than with one's faith in substance. Religious extremism is altogether a negative phenomenon that contributes to the backwardness and dissolution of society. It impedes the freedom, progress, and independence of society.

Besides, religious extremism is incompatible with the spirit of the great religion which calls for fraternity, tolerance and, in accordance with the instructions of the Holy Koran, courteous discourse when differences of opinion develop. In all fairness, young people are not the only ones responsible for the spread of this phenomenon. Rather, society and the regime are jointly responsible for this problem, which will not be solved by the counterviolence of security agencies. There are objective, political, social, and economic reasons for the political and religious extremism among Muslims and Christians.

To make opposition to this radicalism responsible and decisive, let us start by treating the material, political, social, and economic causes of this phenomenon. This means we have to shift to a stage of true freedom and democracy. It means we have to foster social justice

among the nation's groups, and we have to use the power of the law to confront political and economic corruption. We must summon all the factions of the national and democratic movement and ask them to participate in opposing the phenomenon of backwardness and reactionary thought with courageous dialogue and constructive criticism. We are all responsible for the safety of the country and the unity of all the nation's sects. We are also responsible for the independence of our nation's will in the face of the nation's real enemies. We do not want our country to turn into another Lebanon.

AKHIR SA'AH Recounts, Clarifies al-Minya Incidents

90AA0018A Cairo AKHIR SA'AH
in Arabic 14 Mar 90 pp 12-13, 52

[Article by Sayyid 'Abd-al-Qadir: "Full Truth Behind al-Minya Incidents; Who Ignited Fire in Abu-Qurqas; Tale of Suspect Apartment, Videotapes, and Seditious Rumors"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] When AKHIR SA'AH went to al-Minya, lived in Abu-Qurqas, shared the experience of the town of Bani 'Ubayd, and met with the new security director, it became certain that tranquillity has been restored everywhere in the area, that rumors had been behind all that has happened, and that one incident occurred not long ago and that the defendant is still awaiting trial. Major General 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Sayrafi, the new security director, has assured AKHIR SA'AH that tranquillity has been completely restored and that all rumors have been checked so that they may be exposed to everybody. Second, any violation of the law will be dealt with firmly. There is a plan to hold religious symposiums and meetings with the political and popular leaderships. Here are the facts:

We cannot talk about the regrettable incidents which occurred in the town of Abu-Qurqas on 2 March 1990 and which led to burning a confectionery, a bean-crushing mill, a lumber warehouse, a church, two pharmacies, five vehicles and two Christian associations as an independent incident, because this would damage the truth and would do it no good. Neither can we rush to blame one of our nation's two elements, the Muslims and the Christians, because haste or reacting emotionally to these incidents is the objective of those who stir the incidents from behind the curtain, not to mention the fact that haste and emotionalism will not allow us to honestly analyze the incidents and those behind them. We must also acknowledge that collective mistakes do occur on both sides. This is what we will clarify later.

To begin, we stress that this incident is a link in a chain of incidents stirred by rumors and exploited by the tendentious who have taken advantage of the hot temperament of the Upper Egypt people in general and of al-Minya people in particular. We all remember the "crosses" rumor when some people said that crosses appear on people's clothing, especially on veils used by women, and that there were unidentified people who

sprayed certain substance so that the crosses may show on clothing. This "stupid" rumor ignited the emotions in 1987. [passage omitted]

Start of Abu-Qurqas Incident

Last month, a young man from al-Minya was talking to a member of the radical groups and the conversation touched on several issues. The young man complained to his colleague, the group member, that his sister had been coming home late, that this annoyed him, that he had searched his sister's purse and found some money in it, and that he was tortured by suspicion and did not know what to do. Through the group's young women, the sister, named Ghadah, was lured and interrogated severely. Because she is not completely balanced mentally, Ghadah told a bit of the truth, mixed with exaggerations. She confessed that she had been engaging in prostitution with young men for three years, that she and other young women and men used an apartment in Shalabi area of al-Minya City, that Muslim and Christian young men and women frequented the apartment, that they were videotaped in obscene positions, that there was in the apartment a door which operated electronically and which was used to do the videotaping, that there were people who forced them to sell drug pills and heroin, and that the stuff was sold at the Teaching Faculty Club in al-Minya.

The young woman said a lot, over which the group members themselves disagreed. Some of them said that the young woman was not normal and that her statements were not logical. What is important is that Muhammad Jamal, the group's vice emir, instructed that the young woman be examined by his wife, who is a physician. The wife confirmed that the girl was not a virgin. The girl's father was informed and he took her to a gynecologist who declared that the girl is healthy!

One of those mentioned by Ghadah is another young Muslim woman called Rabab. They said that Rabab is from Abu-Qurqas and that she had a relationship with a Christian young man named Ashraf Sa'id Habib, that the two met at the apartment, along with a colleague of hers and with all the young men and women whom Rabab said are from the same school, namely the National Secondary School—the only co-ed private school in al-Minya. Again, the group interrogated Rabab by force and she denied everything Ghadah had said. She said she knew Ashraf because he was her neighbor in the city and that he did give her a ride in his car at times. She denied that she went with him to the apartment about which Ghadah had talked.

The group emir again ordered that Rabab be subjected to medical examination. It was found out that she was a virgin. Yet, the group instructed that Ashraf be seized at his home in Abu-Qurqas. The group members proceeded to the house at 2:00 AM and knocked at the door. Ashraf's father answered the door and they told him that they wanted Ashraf. When he asked them why, they said that he owed them 800 pounds. The father responded:

"That is okay. I will pay it to you." Then another member said: "He owes us 5,000 pounds." The father again said: "I will pay the money, no matter how much it is." Suddenly, Ashraf appeared and the group members told him: "Come down, Ashraf, and fear nothing." As soon as Ashraf came down, they took him from his family in a microbus and disappeared. Ashraf was confronted with Rabab, the young woman with whom he was said to have a relationship. The girl talked to him but he denied that he had any relationship with her for fear of what may happen to him.

Leaflets To Ignite Sedition

But matters developed rapidly. On 27 February, the group distributed its first leaflet, entitled: "Erase the Shame, O Muslims." In this leaflet, they reiterated the story in their own way and said that this apartment was used to violate the honor of Muslim women, because all the women were Muslim, excluding one who was Christian. This leaflet, distributed in al-Minya and Abu-Qurqas, did, of course, have its great impact on heating the atmosphere and angering people, especially since the fact was colored and since inflammatory touches were added to it "carefully." As a consequence, the students of a certain school tried only 48 hours later (1 March) to stage a demonstration and to smash the windows of the [private] school. But the security forces stopped them. On the following day, Friday, 2 March, and upon conclusion of the Friday prayers at al-Haqq Mosque, two members of the group grabbed the microphone, delivering speeches and exhorting the congregators. The assistant police station commander, who was at the mosque, tried to pacify the people and to stop them from marching out. But they did march and anarchy consequently broke out in the town (Abu-Qurqas) and several fires broke out.

The losses of that hot day were embodied in fires in a confectionery and a bean-crushing mill under Ashraf's house, in a lumber warehouse, in three pharmacies owned by Christians, in Martyr Mar Jirjis Church, in a watch shop owned by Murjan Kamil, five private cars, a butcher's shop, the Salvation of Soul Association, the YMCA, a boutique owned by 'Atif Danyal, and in Anis Confectionery Shops. A number of other shops and homes were also burnt.

After control was regained in Abu-Qurqas and a number of perpetrators were arrested, another leaflet entitled "The Honor of Muslims Between Jews and Crusaders," was distributed. This leaflet was also signed by al-Minya Islamic Group.

In the wake of a few days of tranquillity tinged with tension, a powerline broke in the village of Bani 'Ubayd, which is within the jurisdiction of Abu-Qurqas District, next to the village mosque. As a result, sparks flew in every direction. A Christian man then proceeded to spread the rumor that the village mosque was being burnt, and the rumor spread like fire in straw. The result was as expected: A number of angry Muslims from the

village proceeded toward the village church to try to set it afire. But many of the village inhabitants (both Muslim and Christian) extinguished the fire which left its traces on three windows only. Here also, the situation was brought under control.

Tale of the Suspect Apartment

After the incidents in Abu-Qurqas and Bani 'Ubayd were brought under control, the statements of Ghadah on the alleged apartment, which was used as the pretext for the incidents, were investigated. The truth is that this apartment, located in the third floor of an apartment building owned by two Muslims, is leased to a Jordanian Muslim who is married to the sister of the two building owners who work in the United Arab Emirates [UAE]. So, the person who frequents the apartment is the wife's brother, who is, of course, a Muslim. The apartment is located in the Shalabi area on the right side of the Arts School Street behind the *awqaf* [religious endowment] mosque in al-Minya. The wife's brother and his friends are the people who frequent the apartment. Upon inspection, a television set and 117 videotapes of ordinary films were found in the apartment. These tapes are now in the prosecution's custody, and so is the apartment. Even if something did happen in the apartment, and this has not been proven by the investigations, it had nothing to do with religion, any religion, in any way. Even the relations discovered so far are accountable to the law and were brought about by motives that have nothing to do with religion.

What is important is that the outcome of those hot incidents has been the detention of 12 Muslims, some of whom belong to the radical group and some who don't. But they all took part in the burning activities. Three Christians have also been detained, including Ashraf Sa'd Habib and Nasif al-Sayyid, Habib's friend who spread the rumor about burning the Bani 'Ubayd mosque. [passage omitted]

There is nothing "incidental" about these incidents. We must admit this time that those who move behind the curtain to ignite the sedition possess demonic intelligence. Come let us discuss the facts. [passage omitted]

On the seaside of al-Minya live most of the Christians who constitute nearly 25-30 percent of the population and own most of the pharmacies and medical practices and numerous businesses.

Therefore, the ratio of Christians to Muslims makes whoever think of igniting the sedition realize that the matter is serious. Though the Christian brothers are smaller in number, they constitute an economic force in the governorate.

But if we move to Abu-Qurqas in particular, we find that it is divided into two sections: The first is the al-Fikriyah area which is located east of al-Ibrahimiyyah irrigation canal, in which the Christians constitute nearly 25 percent, and which is financially influential. The western section, or the town of Abu-Qurqas, has a Christian

majority, and so is Manhari suburb. There are suburbs that are exclusively Christian and which perhaps have one mosque. [passage omitted]

Major General 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Sayrafi, al-Minya's new security director, held several meetings with the governorate security leaderships immediately upon his arrival. The meetings, held with Major General Barakat Muhammad Barakat, the deputy security director, with Major General Yusri Shakir, the assistant director for security affairs, and with the branch commanders of central and state security, lasted long hours. The new security director has told AKHIR SA'AH, "Even though the incidents have totally subsided and normal life has been fully restored—I am not saying this just to make statements and I invite all the media officials to make sure of it—we have decided to continue the current state of security alert. Major General 'Abd-al-Halim Musa receives a daily report on the security situation and he is in constant contact with us." [passage omitted]

Maj. Gen. 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Sayrafi added, "We are aware that al-Minya is a city which has always, and not just now, had its special character. We deal accordingly and we beg the citizens to cooperate with us and to realize the true objective of the rumors." [passage omitted]

Foreign Influence Blamed for Abu-Qurqas Violence

Carter's Visit Suspect

90AA0013A Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 14 Mar 90 p 8

[Article by 'Ali Faruq: "To Musa, Jallab, and Carter: Lift Your Hands Off al-Minya Incidents"]

[Excerpts] Al-Minya Governorate has witnessed some regrettable incidents in the past two weeks and we have seen domestic and foreign attempts to portray these incidents as a major sedition and as a brutal massacre to which Egypt's Christians have been exposed and in which their homes have been violated, their businesses burnt, and their sons killed in the streets! [passage omitted]

What is more serious is that we have seen Jimmy Carter, an ex-U.S. president and a current minister, pay a sudden visit to Egypt. We are fully aware, despite the government press allegations, that the main reason for Carter's visit is to inspect the conditions of Egypt's Christians and not to hold, as reported, economic talks with Egyptian officials. This is especially true since Carter considers himself the defender of the Christians' sanctuary and the bearer of the banner of the "cross" in the world! Thus, we see him travel from Africa to Asia and to Latin America to preach Christianity.

We have at our disposal in AL-NUR the full details of the regrettable incidents in al-Minya Governorate. But we decided not to publish these details so that this may

not lead to fanning the flames of the incidents instead of extinguishing them and in order that the violence may not spread to other parts.

But what we expected has actually happened. As soon as distorted reports of the incidents in al-Minya were published in the government and opposition press, some Islamic groups staged demonstrations in Asyut and Suhaj. Some have even alleged that grenades have been hurled at several churches in Cairo.

We condemn the war of rumors which is being currently witnessed by Egypt and which some people are waging to strike at stability and to preoccupy society with issues that impede its march toward improving its collapsing economy. We condemn more strongly the endeavors of a few Islamic groups which have totally disregarded the law and have tried to play the role of the security man. [passage omitted]

Minister Blames Foreigners

90AA0013B Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic 21 Mar 90 p 5

[Article: "Three Ministers in Cairo, Abu-Qurqas and Asyut: Destructive Tendency From Abroad To Ignite Sectarian Sedition in Egypt"]

[Text] Dr. Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub, the minister of *awqaf* [religious endowments], has stated that President Husni Mubarak has instructed that funds be allocated in the state budget to complete and inaugurate al-Nur Mosque on Preachers Day next year. At his meeting with students of 'Ayn Shams Business School yesterday, the minister asserted that there is a tendency coming from abroad to ignite the fire of sedition between Muslims and Christians in Egypt, starting in Upper Egypt. At a popular rally held in Abu-Qurqas yesterday, Dr. Ahmad Salamah, the minister of state for the People's Assembly and Consultative Assembly affairs, said that the profound relations between the nation's two elements throughout 14 centuries confirm the strength and firmness of this relationship and prove that what has happened cannot affect the tranquil relations between Muslims and Christians.

Dr. Maurice Makramallah, the minister of international cooperation, said at the same rally that Egypt's economic problem requires social stability primarily, and that no development can be achieved without such stability which all citizens should enjoy.

Report From Muhammad Habib

Dr. Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub has appealed to Egypt's national forces to stand united in the face of the destructive tendency that is seeking to ignite sedition between Muslims and Christians. He said that the government is not fighting the devout and that nobody can fight them. Rather, the government supports and backs them. The minister allocated 10,000 pounds to complete the construction of the 'Ayn Shams Business School mosque.

The minister said that 90 percent of the *shari'a* [Islamic law] is applied in matters of faith, morals, and transactions. What remains is the issue of usury and of God's restrictions. There are loopholes in the penal code and we are now addressing them.

Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Marzuq, an Islamic missionary, has said, "Yes, Islam is the solution. But with whom? Those who reiterate this slogan know nothing about Islam and try to mislead the youth and the Islamic nation. When we talk to them, they say that al-Azhar ulema are ignorant and do not understand religion, so how can they be Muslims?"

Al-Minya—Report From Hajjaj al-Husayni

At the Abu-Qurqas rally, which was attended by 'Abd-al-'Al al-Jurhi, the National Party secretary; by Archpriest Ya'qub Mattiyas, the vicar of Manhari Church; by the popular leaderships, by Engineer 'Adil 'Afifi, the town chairman; and by Christian and Muslim clergymen, the participants underlined the depth of the national unity. The two ministers urged the popular agencies to move and explain the objectives of the imperialist scheme which seeks to strike the nation's two elements.

Asyut—Report From Musa Bulus

The National Party secretary general has urged educators to spread Christian and Muslim religious awareness in all of the governorate's schools. Hamid al-Mulayji, the New Wafd Party secretary, has stressed that Muslims and Christians offered the greatest models in the 1919 revolution. Shaykh Hasan Rushdi, director of the religious institute, asserted that Asyut serves both Muslim and Christian within the same framework.

Editorial Chastises Public for Political Apathy

900A0360B Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH
in Arabic 14 Feb 90 p 5

[Muhammad al-Hayawan Editorial]

[Text] The youth wanted to protest, so he committed suicide with such a strange act that world news agencies reported it. The youth intended nobody else harm. He just wanted to protest violently by committing a violent suicide at a site that symbolizes Egypt most strongly, regardless of whether his protest was against his father or against the circumstances. When a People's Assembly member wanted to protest, he brandished a knife in the People's Assembly. Protesting in this violent manner is new to us. It is also too much for us that these incidents should occur in the same week.

The Egyptian people have been accustomed to protesting, but negatively and without agreement. For example, student refrainment from participating in the student union elections is a negative protest against the administration's intervention in the nomination and in the outcome. The citizen's disinterest in the Consultative Assembly and People's Assembly elections is also a

negative protest without agreement because it happens in Aswan and in Alexandria on the same day. The protest is due to a lack of confidence in the outcome of the elections, either because it is predetermined or because it is subject to modification!

The lack of response on women's part to the family planning campaign is also a protest. But it is negative. The failure of most government propaganda campaigns is because the citizen mistrusts them and because he protests the slighting of his intellect. We ask the citizen not to eat meat during al-Adha holiday for health reasons, whereas, we have been eating meat during this holiday since the days of our master Ibrahim and have experienced no health crisis! We ask the citizen not to eat cookies during the Minor Feast, whereas, we have been eating these cookies since the days of al-Mu'izz-Lidinallah, the Fatimid, without encountering any problem. We ask him not to eat sugar when a sugar crisis develops. We ask him to refrain from using drugs that are proscribed by analogy whereas we permit the consumption of alcohol that is proscribed explicitly.

The farmer's neglect of his farm is a protest of the government's intervention in the crop—in cultivating it, in spraying it, and in monopolizing its sale. The consumer's insistence on going to excess is also a protest. The consumer asks himself: Why should I save? Whenever I save in a certain vessel, the government intervenes and causes the savings to be lost. This is why the citizen goes to excess, why he makes excessive demands, and why he embraces the slogan, "if it is free, get as much of it as you can." It is a special type of protest. The citizen sees excess everywhere, so why shouldn't he go to excess?

Low production is some sort of a protest. The worker produces in his own factory or in the private sector factories but does not produce in the public sector. This is some sort of a slowdown strike in protest of laxity on the part of the higher management. The company loses but the director gives up none of his privileges. The worker cannot protest violently. So he protests negatively. He turns his back to production. It is a very old custom among the Egyptian people to turn their back to what they do not like. They do not trust anybody who deceives them once and they express their protest with jokes. In view of all of this, it is strange to see such violent protests, to see protest reach the degree of despair, and to see the protester act resoundingly. The National Party may try to reconcile the member who brandished his knife at the People's Assembly but it will not be able to erase the traces of this protest from the people's minds, even though the incident has been omitted from the minutes and even though photographs confirming the incident have been prohibited.

It seems that we pay no attention to negative protestation even if it sabotages the economy. We are supposed to be alert to this protestation, supposed to deal with it, and supposed to correct it. Nothing should divert us from the constitutional, political, and economic reform because stagnation is not in Egypt's interest while the

world around us is running. Because the citizen's negativity is worrying, we must all be concerned with it.

ISRAEL

Navy Role Under Debate

44230109D Tel Aviv DAVAR (Supplement)
in Hebrew 16 Feb 90 pp 6-7

[Article by Even Levi]

[Text] "They must not be deprived of their dream," I was told by Major General Avraham Ben-Shushan, IDF [Israel Defense Force] attache to the defense apparatus in Washington and former Navy commander, who recently was in Israel for the U.S. ground forces commander's visit. He didn't want to say anything beyond that, not even about the possible scrapping of the submarine project, which he helped initiate. All my attempts to interview him failed. "The Navy has a commander and I'm sure he can do a very good job of explaining the corps' interests, including the importance of the submarine project and of equipping the Navy. During my visit," Maj. Gen. Ben-Shushan added, "I attended a General Staff debate where I expressed my views. The decisionmakers know very well what I think." I tried to extract a clearer answer from him and I insisted—What if your opinion is not accepted? "I assume that the decision will not be changed; at this point, I have had my say. If I decide that I want to appeal to the public, I will have to shed my uniform first."

Maj. Gen. Ben-Shushan would not say more than that, but, to judge by his tone, the topic is close to his heart. If Maj. Gen. Ben-Shushan does decide to shed his uniform and open his mouth, it is reasonable to assume that many will not be happy to hear what he has to say.

The idea of the Saar-5 missile boats and the submarines project date way back. For a long time Maj. Gen. Ze'ev Almog tried to sell the idea to the decisionmaking bodies and made more than a few enemies in the process. Major Generals Ben-Shushan and Ram gave the project a good push and took it from theory to practice.

The issue of victory in the battlefield of the future is one of the main considerations when it comes to allocating the defense budget, and especially the IDF budget. This difficult decision rests with the chief of staff, who establishes the order of priorities and the objectives that will be allocated funds. Before making a decision, the chief of staff consults the IDF generals and hears their views. The prevailing view at the General Staff is that the next war will be decided on the ground and in the air. Even if the Navy does not disagree with this estimate, it is still determined to stress that the threat from the sea has not disappeared, that it is still a factor. "We don't live in a vacuum; knowing what is going on in the Arab countries suffices to dispel our serenity. The Arabs are equipping and modernizing their navies and purchasing ships and submarines. The same goes for terrorists'

attempts to penetrate and stage attacks from the sea," said Brig. Gen. A., commander of a Navy base in Haifa.

The debate on Navy procurement also presents a facet of principle having to do with the place and importance of the Navy within the IDF system. Is current security the only mission of the Navy, or does it have to be prepared to face an enemy navy? The debate on the importance of the Navy erupts every time that defense budget allocations and cuts are discussed. Some people note that the Navy has not fought any enemy vessels since 1973.

"The Navy is a very professional corps. We carry out our missions and more," said a senior corps commander. They are angry with the "greens" (ground forces). "We know and understand the 'greens' better than they do us. Nevertheless, we don't criticize them and don't interfere in their affairs, while they permit themselves to give us advice, to criticize, and to make recommendations about things they don't understand." The Navy tries not to openly criticize the IDF generals who recommend cutting out the submarines project or the Saar-5. "People think differently when they look in from the outside than when they carry the responsibility."

The Navy is still angry about the fact that dozens of meetings, debates, and analyses are carried out about every procurement proposal for the Navy. That was the case before it was decided to purchase the Saar-5 boats: The chief of staff appointed a commission under Major General Yisrael Tal, whose task it was to examine the topic of Navy equipment. After finishing its work, the commission supported all of the Navy's requests, and even recommended that the Navy be allowed to equip itself without restrictions. "No commission was ever appointed to examine the needs of the Air Force," said a senior corps commander, voicing the frustration of Navy officers.

Israel's sea boundary is very long and is open to many opportunities for attack or to a long and sensitive front.

Three events that occurred in the 1970's left a deep scar on the collective memory of the Navy. They involved three terrorist attacks: on Hotel Savoy in March 1975, on the coastal highway in March 1978, and on Nahariya in 1979. In all three incidents terrorists from Lebanon managed to cross to the Israeli shores in rubber boats, from where they got into Israel and murdered children, civilians, and soldiers. The Navy was forced to shoulder the blame for the attacks. In the 1980's every terrorist attempt to cross into Israel and stage attacks failed. During 1987-1990 there were more than 12 such attempts, but they were all foiled and ended far away from Israel's shores. The same occurred in the southern sector and at the Red Sea. Nevertheless, the Navy is concerned that "although in the 1980's we managed to preserve the security of Israel's maritime border, that does not mean that the terrorists don't intend to stage attacks from the sea." The commander of a Navy base in Haifa, Brig. Gen. A. said that "In recent years there have been seven attempted attacks. Those were full-fledged

military operations; the terrorists involved in them were thoroughly trained and equipped, and their goal was to attack localities in the north. Failures don't induce the terrorists to despair and to stop trying."

"We don't deal only with current security. Some of our additional activities are better not revealed in public. But the decisionmakers know what we do and recognize us," stressed Brig. Gen. A. The Arab countries are what causes the Navy to plead for equipment and modernization of the fleet. "We don't live in a vacuum. There are navies around us that we cannot ignore or dismiss," Brig. Gen. A. added.

In the mid-1970's and in the early 1980's the Arab navies were revolutionized and acquired modern vessels.

In the 1980's Syria acquired MI-14 marine helicopters. It also added three Soviet submarines—not new and not the latest models, but good for another decade. In the past year Syria attempted to acquire modern submarines, something that will probably happen because the Russians have already approved it. Syria reinforced its attack system along its shores and along the Lebanese coast with electronic warfare means. Despite their budget problems, the Syrians are investing heavily in navy equipment.

The Navy is anxiously following the increasing strength and sophistication of the Egyptian navy. That navy improved and made progress in recent years, although the Egyptians, too, are having money difficulties and are seeking ways of refurbishing their existing submarines. The Egyptians want to purchase the British Oberon-2, as well as additional submarines. Currently Egypt has more than 30 surface vessels, which in themselves constitute a serious threat to Israel.

Libya has a very large, modern, and sophisticated navy featuring modern submarines and all sorts of western vessels.

The Navy's Dabur and Dvora are adequate for current security and for foiling penetration attempts by terrorists. However, in the Navy's estimation, penetration attempts are only one aspect of the problem. The Navy wants to be prepared for the hour of trial, i.e., for possible war. Because the chances of war in the near future are considered low, the defense leadership prefers to allocate money to more vital and urgent targets.

It is worth noting again that no other IDF body can fulfill the Navy's special missions. And in order to be able to handle their complex missions, the Navy must have the necessary equipment.

The life span of vessels is limited and known in advance. The Navy has managed to extend the life of missile boats, but there are limits. The suggestion to recycle, repair, and refurbish vessels is ridiculed by Navy personnel. What is involved is 6- to 7-mm steel that cannot be repaired. Moreover, 1960's technology is totally inappropriate to the 1990's. The Navy's missile boats

recently celebrated their 20th anniversary. The Saar-2 and -3 boats were built in Cherbourg between 1967-69. The Saar-4, which is more advanced, was built in Israeli shipyards at the beginning of the 1970's. The pressure body of the submarines also has a limited and invariable life span. Israel's submarines are 12 years old, and the maximum life span of a submarine in water is 15 years. This means that time is running out. The Navy consulted all sorts of world experts to find out whether the submarines' life could be extended, but they didn't think so either. Consequently, in 3 years the existing submarines will not be able to carry out their missions, so what will happen then.... "Everyone who lived through the trauma of the 'Dakar' submarines is even more cautious. Which means that no one will dare take such a risk when it comes to submarines," said Brig. Gen. A.

The purchase of vessels is much more complex than that of an airplane or tank. Once it is decided to purchase a plane, it is only a matter of money. The airplane comes from an established production line, to which improvements are added according to Air Force requirements. The purchase of vessels can take years. First of all, the type of vessel required must be decided on the basis of an analysis of the battlefield of the future. Then, a firm must be found that can do the job. Israel is considerably limited in its choices because of its political situation. After that stage, financing sources must be found; after that, another six years will go by before the vessels can join the system. Since this is a matter of several years, there is also a problem of personnel changes, both technical and combat personnel. The period between the retirement of old submarines and introduction of new ones is considered a terrible time for an operational unit. Some people are left without jobs and without any real possibilities, so most of them leave the army. About the possible departure of such people, a senior commanding officer said, "Losing people with knowledge and experience would be a heavy blow for years to come."

The Navy invests great efforts in training commanding officers and combat personnel. It takes 38 months to train a Dabur commander from the beginning of the course to the time he is certified to captain the vessel. The training base in Haifa provides professional training for both commanding officers and crews. There are two special divisions for training officers and four for seamen. In recent years, the IDF Manpower Branch recognized the special needs of the Navy and the sophistication required from its troops, and since then elite soldiers have been assigned to the Navy. Although this is not a volunteer corps, the fall out percentage is very low. Budget cuts have affected the training of commanding officers. Because the number of hours at sea has been reduced, their experience at sea is reduced. One partial solution to this problem is to use simulated facilities that model weapon systems. However, these facilities are not a replacement for experience at sea. Veteran Navy reservists say that "I have less confidence in young officers. They are technicians who know how to operate the equipment, but they have far less experience at sea."

Current security work is carried out on an ongoing basis. In the winter it is very difficult to take out Daburs to sea: upset stomachs, dizziness, the rocking of the boat, and the young lieutenant in command forced to do calculations in waves more than three meters high. Scrap the sortie? Go back? Going back means fewer sea patrols and less security for Israel's people. This is not an easy decision for young commanding officers. The nightmare of the attack on the coastal highway is still haunting Navy personnel, so they are not in a hurry to return to base.

Population Centers To Receive Chemical Warfare Kits

44000253 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 25 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] Large population centers and cities, among them Tel Aviv and cities in the Gush Dan district, will be among the first to receive masks and NBC [nuclear, biological, chemical] kits. This is in light of the decision by the chief of staff to distribute them to every house in Israel. Settlements next to strategic locations are also given priority in the distribution. Before making the decision, the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] engaged in a number of debates on the subject. The headquarters of the general civil defense service opposed the idea, as did a number of IDF logistics echelons. But the chief of staff, along with Deputy Chief of Staff Col Ze'ev Livna, who is responsible for the subject in the IDF, supported the decision and gave the green light for its implementation. From a formal standpoint, it is still necessary to continue discussion agreed to by the chief of staff in which various scenarios of the operation and its method of implementation are presented. Afterwards, the decision will be raised for authorization by the defense minister and it will also be presented to the government and cabinet. A senior IDF officer said yesterday: "This is a correct and important decision. The most important thing is that the availability of NBC kits and masks in every house in Israel will deter the enemy from using chemical warfare means; therefore, it will be clear that their effectiveness will be extremely limited." When distribution is begun, the IDF will also begin conveying information to the general public, and it seems that in this context it will be disseminated by a broadcasting service, prepared for this purpose, on television.

LIBYA

Tripoli Municipality Reports 1989 Industrial Production

90P40003B Tripoli AL-SHATT in Arabic 6 Mar 90 p 2

[Report by AL-SHATT correspondent]

[Text] The light industry sector of the municipality of Tripoli achieved great qualitative development during 1989 and this development may be summarized as follows: First, the total value of industrial production in

the municipality during 1989 was 237,382,000 Libyan dinars, which is 51 percent of the value of industrial production in the Jamahiriyyah, compared with 1988 in which it was 235,518,000 dinars—a more than one-percent increase. The number of workers was 13,267. Second, the number of factories and production units which were turned over to the workers was 46, with a total original established value of more than 17 billion dinars. The number of workers benefiting from this was 3,232. Third, the number of factories which applied the slogan "Partners Not Servitude" [as published] was 82. The number which did not apply it was 18. The total number of general partnerships up to 31 December 1989 was 3,087 in various industrial activities, managed by more than 5,487 workers. The number of partnerships under servitude in various industrial activities was 204 up to 31 December 1989.

Increased Salinity, Dry Wells Cause Tripoli Concern

90OA0350A Tripoli AL-SHATT in Arabic 23 Jan 90 p 3

[Text] In a recent meeting, the People's Committee of the municipality of Tripoli discussed the serious water situation in the city of Tripoli.

I wonder what characterizes the water situation.

The city of Tripoli depends on water wells as the primary source of supplying the city with water. This source is usually variable with respect to quantity and quality for several reasons, some of which can be controlled, such as productivity, maintenance, and other things, and some that cannot be controlled, such as the "intrusion of sea water and other things."

Because of the increase in population density and the industrial and urban growth of the municipality, the rate of water consumption has increased, and as a result some wells have dried up, and the proportion of salinity in some others has increased because of the intrusion of sea water.

The secretariat of the people's committee for utilities in the municipality of Tripoli prepared a comprehensive study on that, the result of which was the preparation of a general plan for water, and it commissioned an international consultative office to prepare this study. The consultative office made its final study accompanied by several recommendations. The people's committee for utilities in the municipality has implemented some of the recommendations of the comprehensive water plan, such as establishing the Wadi al-Rabi' well field, the 'Ayn Zarah and the al-Sawani pumping stations, and reservoirs to collect the water at the two aforementioned stations.

However it has been impossible to implement the other recommendations, which are considered to be fully linked to what the utilities have done in the way of water projects, namely the building of two desalinization stations east and west of the city of Tripoli, improving the network of water to the city, and building a complex for water and workshops.

A. Current sources of water:

1. Productive:

The total number of productive wells belonging to the stations "including the saline wells," is 185 wells producing at a capacity of 143,000 cubic meters a day.

The total number of operating wells belonging to the dispersed subdivisions in the city of Tripoli is 192 wells producing 138,240 cubic meters a day.

In view of the fact that not all wells operate for 24 hours, just as there are some breakdowns that occur sometimes in the wells because of lack of complete maintenance, their productivity is decreased by about 20 percent.

The total number of productive wells is 377.

The total amount of water obtained is about 281,240 cubic meters a day.

The loss from leakage from the network is 25 percent, 70,310 cubic meters a day.

The total amount of water actually obtained is about 210,430 cubic meters a day.

B. Quality

The concentration of salts in some of the wells is up to 18,000 ppm, bearing in mind that the maximum permissible level is 1200-1500 ppm. Most of the wells of the Tripoli region exceed this figure. The average concentration of salts in all the wells is up to 3000 ppm, and this concentration is increasing to a large extent because of the intense drawing off of the water.

C. Volume of water needed:

Based on the consumption standard of a single individual previously recommended by the consulting office, 220 liters per person per day, as well as the population of the Tripoli region which is about a million persons, the following is derived:

1. Average required productivity is 300,000 cubic meters a day.

2. Productivity required at the time of the year in the summer is 450,000 cubic meters a day for 1990.

3. Total actual productivity obtained is 210,930 cubic meters a day, and that is the maximum figure.

4. Average daily deficit is 89,070 cubic meters, a deficit of around 42 percent.

5. The deficit in the period of the year in the summer is 239,070 cubic meters a day, a 113 percent deficit.

Keep in mind that the inferences outlined above include the operation of the saline wells which in some regions

have up to 18,000 ppm of salts, as well as the following observations:

1. Whenever the pressure increases in the network, the rate of consumption increases.

2. Because the public gardens in various regions of the city are considered to be low level when compared to the level of buildings, the drop in pressure in the network affects the amount of water used to water them. Both these observations could increase the rate of consumption per individual in the region.

B. Proposed solutions

In studying the situation, and in looking at the results of water analysis, it was apparent that there was much pollution of well water by salt seawater as a result of the intense drawing off, and lack of replenishment of the underground reserve. Therefore there are some temporary solutions, as well as future ones to cover the deficit, and improve the quality of water in the Tripoli region. Some of the most important are as follows:

1. The Great Industrial River, one of the future solutions which will cover some of the deficit in the water supply.

2. The project to build a seawater desalinization station in al-Mina' with a capacity of 30,000 cubic meters a day, by which part of the water supply to the region of Tripoli al-Markaz will be covered.

3. Desalinizing well water at a capacity of 74,000 cubic meters a day is a temporary solution to cover a part of the deficit in the region of Hayy al-Andalus, and part of the region of Suq al-Jum'a, in addition to region of Tripoli al-Markaz.

4. Building two seawater desalinization stations with a capacity of 440,000 cubic meters a day, the root solution to supplying water to the whole of the Tripoli region.

That will be done in case the needed amounts of drinking water are not obtained from the Great Industrial River project. Concerning it we think:

1. The implementation of the desalinization station with a capacity of 30,000 cubic meters a day, ought to be speeded up, contract number 89/25.

2. Contracting for the implementation of desalinization units in the saline wells ought to be speeded up.

3. Implementation of the project to increase the efficiency of the network and contracting for the rest of the stages ought to be speeded up, in view of the fact that seepage from the network has reached about 30 percent of total productivity.

News of the al-Sawani Municipal Subdivision

In the past few days a face to face meeting was held that included the secretariat of the people's conference of the

al-Sawani municipal subdivision and its people's committee, where a number of subjects were discussed concerning the decisions of the basic people's conferences in the al-Sawani municipal subdivision, in addition to several other subjects relating to daily administrative services.

In the past few days the people's health committee for the municipality of Tripoli held its first regular meeting for the 1990 year in the meeting hall in the al-Sawani municipal subdivision, during which it devoted itself to discussing several important topics related on the whole to implementing the decisions of the basic people's conferences in the health sector at the level of the municipality of Tripoli.

The committee formed to prepare a plan of incorporating the basic people's conferences into the al-Sawani municipal subdivision, and which was formed recently by a decision from the secretariat of the conference in the subdivision, held its regular meeting, where it completed the preparation of its plan on the issue of incorporation. It is to be presented to the secretariat of the people's conference at the next joint meeting, and thence to the basic people's conferences in the subdivision.

As part of the several programs of the horse club for horse racing in the al-Sawani municipal subdivision, the club recently organized horse races of various distances for pure Arabian horses, that within the framework of propagating and encouraging this sport.

A few days ago the masses of teachers in the al-Sawani municipal subdivision sent a secretariat up to its conference, as follows:

1. Mustafa Miftah Jallut, secretary of the conference.
2. Khalifah Muhammad Wahinah, assistant secretary.
3. 'Umran Ahmad, member.
4. 'Iyad Ahmad Daw', member.
5. Faraj Muhammad Rahumah, member.

Editorial Lampoons West's View of Arabs

90P40003 Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR
in Arabic 5 Mar 90 p 16

[Editorial by Mahmud al-Gharraf]

[Text] What do those nomads want? Is it reasonable that a camel should carry an antitank missile—and just when we've been surprised by the desert's being pregnant with fountains of black gold and lakes of sweet water. We have squeezed the Arab sands grain by grain and we have wrung from each grain its burden of oil. We have convinced the Arabs to trust in their revenues, no matter what the identity of their banks. We in the capitalist West do not differentiate between the Jewish usurers and the clever ones of European descent. In our view, all of

them are merchants producing pennies from the wombs of dollars. They produce millions in pure profit from the sweat of trade in Asia, from the sands of the desert, from the farms of Latin America, and from the mines of Africa. However, if the camel carries an antitank missile, this is a matter which we will not permit, not even if all of the holy books were to do so. The Arabs—those nomads—what do they want with the rights of heaven? Some of them want to immediately hurry into a pan-Arab nation, when we have not even consumed what remains of the oil reserves! We will not permit that! Others wish the downfall of the Jewish political state in Palestine. This is also not permitted because the Jewish state is a prophecy of the Torah, and because we believe the Gospel to be the Torah's twin, we must protect the prophecy and supply more Falasha Jews and Soviet Jews to the promised land. By our nature as a civilized Christian camp, we must force the might of the Jews to confront the camel carrying dynamite and missiles. Whether the missile is carried in a submarine or traveling in the belly of a jet, the Arabs must be convinced that military decisionmaking, when it contradicts the prophecy of the Torah, is unacceptable, that the oil revenues will be frozen in our banks until they become as cold as the South Pole, and that the economic boycott will strike at their ports so that their children will die of hunger when it cuts off their supply of Nido and Cerelac canned milk. We will also block their supplies of Rothmans and Marlboro cigarettes so that the machinery of the administrative work in the offices stops and the month of Ramadan comes to be without fragrance. We are not so simpleminded as to permit the unity of Germany or the unity of the Arab nation, and we are not so naive as to let the thought of the Green Book pass through regional portals or cross international frontiers. Those rich nomads need direct transmission by our satellites of all the regular activities at the World Cup this summer from Italy. We will let that magician Maradona [Brazilian soccer player] distract them for a while from their prayers and from the news of the revolution of stones [in the West Bank]. What does it matter or harm to instill them with love and passion for the Brazilian soccer team? Perhaps we will handle it by arranging with the Mafia for the [Brazilian] team to win this time instead of Argentina or Germany, and we will create out of the sports commentary on Arab radio stations a new entertainment rite, to be added to the four rites which were established after the death of their prophet Muhammad. Perhaps we will agree to name this heresy "Rite of the Imam Muhammad Abu-al-Ra's Bin-'Ali" [Abu-al-Ra's means father of the head, a reference to soccer]. Those nomads do not want recognition by our civilization. We are the ones that have cleaned the lice out of their hair. We have put antibiotic vaccines in their veins and nerves. We have cured their rich of ulcers, high blood pressure, and the malignant tumors spread among them when their contracts and stores and import businesses were ruined. We have taught them how to create dirhams from the wombs of dinars and lira and pounds, and how the pennyless contractor collects one penny after another until he can build an apartment building

with telephone lines, electricity, and air conditioning which will protect them from the summer heat and the winter cold. However, we will not permit the camel to carry an antitank missile, even if we have to bury them in the cloud of an atomic explosion. Let those who have pride try to rise above a mushroom cloud. Ladies and gentlemen—you who have been made Arabs and you who are native Arabs—a virtuous nation which has exiled its people. Fundamental differences should not be ignored between a rubber ball and the sphere of the earth—the place of banishment for Adam and Eve in the beginning. This planet was been controlled after World War II by the fact of the conflict between the West and the East, and in this, the controlling factor is nuclear deterrence between the two superpowers. However, the matter has been transformed these days under the pressures of the people's revolution and the dawn of the age of the masses. For this reason, the superpowers have joined in the form of one dinosaur with two heads. This is not a superstition from the fabric of Greek mythology. While you do not add anything new to your future, you do not add to the capital of the past. I mean by this that the football "soccer" rite is the rite of the Imam Muhammad Abu-al-Ra's Bin-'Ali, that playing with the rubber ball has gone to your heads, and that you have forgotten what is happening on the sphere of the earth. The time has come and the hour has struck to work on the strategic situation "courageously." Our path is to enter the mosque as we entered it in the beginning, to study the prophecy of the Koran. [All quotation marks as published]

SAUDI ARABIA

Electrical Project in Wadi al-Dawasir Described

90OL0261A London AL-MAJALLAH
in Arabic 30 Jan 90 p 67

[Article: "Wadi al-Dawasir Electric Power Project: Costs 900 Million Riyals, Covers 130 Cities and Towns"]

[Text] In a grand celebration attended by Prince Ahmad Bin-Salman Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, by the minister of industry and electricity, and by the board chairman of the General Electric Corporation, Engineer 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Zamil, Prince Salman Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, prince of the Riyadh district, Saudi Arabia, inaugurated the central Wadi al-Dawasir-Salil-al-Aflaj electric power project, the most modern central electric power project the General Electricity Corporation [Electrico] is implementing nationwide.

In the speech he delivered at the huge oratorical celebration held on this occasion, Prince Salman emphasized that the Custodian of the Two Holy Places and his faithful crown prince ordered and sponsored this project to serve area residents.

And in a speech delivered at the opening of the celebration, Engineer 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Zamil explained that the al-Dawasir-Salil-al-Aflaj project cost over 900 million

riyals and serves more than 130 cities and towns over an area upwards of 120,000 [square] kilometers.

He said that this was the tenth central electric power project undertaken in the kingdom in addition to a number of rural and outlying projects, pointing out that the total cost of these projects was 16 billion riyals.

This gigantic project is totally different from the other central projects the establishment has undertaken in terms of the vast area it covers, demographic concentration in specific locations, and the wide distance between the various areas. This is besides the fact that some regions covered by this project are located in outlying areas that may be difficult to reach, according to Electrico's acting governor, Fuhayd al-Sharif.

He went on to say that under these circumstances the corporation deemed it technically, practically, and administratively expedient to divide the project into three central projects, each serving an entire area. These areas are the central Wadi al-Dawasir-Salil project, the al-Aflaj project and the Husat Qahtan project.

He explained that these projects provide 272,000 kilowatts of electricity from three central power plants which are the Juba, the al-Aflaj and the Hijrat Bin-Huwayil, pointing out that these plants are fully equipped with the machinery, utilities, and basic components necessary for power generation.

He added that two plants have been set up to raise the Juba and Layla plant capacity to 132,000 volts to supply outlying areas and to serve the largest possible number of consumers. Furthermore, electric power plants are connected to the conveyance networks by 132-volt single and double circuit lines for a total of 452 kilometers. He indicated that there are nine main transforming stations, four of which are in the Wadi al-Dawasir district and five in Layla and al-Aflaj.

He also indicated that distribution networks have over 2,100 kilometers of different voltage lines serving more than 21,000 subscribers in various areas covered by the project.

He said that the al-Dawasir-Salil-al-Aflaj-Husat Qahtan project is part of the electric system's infrastructure in the kingdom in general and the central region in particular.

He pointed out that the project was designed and implemented by state-of-the-art technical and technological methods used in the various facets of electric power generation.

He also said that this project has made it possible to do away with a large number of small, high-cost generators used in this area.

SUDAN

Government Moves To Comply With IMF Rules

90OA0373B London AL-DUSTUR
in Arabic 12 Feb 90 pp 27-28

[Article by Salah 'Abd-al-Rahim]

[Excerpts] In his response to the letter sent recently by Mr. Michel Camdessus, director of the International Monetary Fund, the Sudanese finance minister Dr. Sayyid Zaki stated that the Sudanese government was currently exploring (possible) economic reform measures. These measures come in the wake of the decision by the IMF's board of the executive directors last November to give the Sudan a three month period ending this February to set up a program of economic reform and repay part of its debt to the IMF of \$1.2 billion directly before the meeting, or the IMF would have to take what is known as corrective measures, since the Sudan would be an unqualified state.

The Sudan had originally asked that it be given a respite of six months so as to be able to include the economic reform measures in its new budget on the basis that the current budget had been inherited with all its problems from the previous regime. However, seven powers out of the 22 states that took part in the meeting of the IMF agreed only to give Sudan a respite of three months to apply the economic reforms, while three states abstained from voting, and twelve states supported Sudan. However, the view of the seven powers, what with the voting power they have, was the determining factor, even though the IMF's delegation that had visited Sudan recently had recommended that Sudan be given the six months requested.

Observers believe that the issue of the IMF debt would not represent a problem if the Sudan agrees to apply a program of economic reform, and there was talk about the possibility of the government repaying a part of the arrears to the IMF before the next meeting in February out of money from Saudi aid to the Sudan for disasters from rain and floods, which was frozen in Riyadh and amounts to about 220 million riyals. However, that was rejected by officials here.

The Sudanese government seems anxious to reach an agreement with the IMF. That was evident in the fact that it sent a delegation headed by the finance minister with the governor of the Central Bank as a member to attend meetings of the IMF's board of directors, and that it made contacts with a number of states that are considered to have weight in the IMF to ensure that a harsh decision against Sudan not be issued. Such a decision might entail being dismissed from membership, with the IMF consequently contacting banks and international organizations and members asking them to reduce their aid to Sudan on the basis that it was unable to meet its international obligations, which would restrict its movement in international money markets. At the end of this month the fate of Sudan's relationship with the IMF is scheduled to be determined either in agreement or a breach. Some observers believe that the IMF itself is not confident

that Sudan wants to reach an understanding with it on the basis of its well known prescription. That is on the basis that the decision to dismiss it of itself would not have an effect on Sudan's current situation, in view of the fact that it had not originally received aid from the IMF, and that international aid to it has in turn shrunk to a large extent for the same reason, and it has come to depend on Arab aid. They say that if it wanted to, Sudan could continue the relationship with the IMF if it begins to implement a reform program, starting with consolidating the official and free exchange rates of the Sudanese pound, which are 4.5 pound and 12 pounds to the dollar, into a single exchange rate that would be 8 pounds, for example, for a start, which would be an indirect drop in the pound; raising the price of fuel to cover a large part of the deficit in the budget currently up to about 8 billion pounds and expected to reach 10 billion by June; and raising taxes. In addition, reform should include reducing government control of the economy by giving a larger role to the private sector and freeing prices so as to give incentive to the producers; and removing restraints on dealing in foreign currency, because fighting the black market with police measures, prison, and execution drives it underground and causes it to grow in size and makes it all the more impossible to fight.

The reform which the IMF wants centers on these issues, especially that of the exchange rate of the Sudanese pound. The IMF believes that the current exchange rate is unrealistic and that its valuation is inflated, and it calls for the its standardization. It says that the subsidization of goods must be stopped, which the IMF estimates at around 3.6 billion a year, or around 50 percent of the budget deficit. In addition, the problem of losing public establishments must be dealt with, and surplus workers dismissed. [passage omitted]

Government Urged to Rethink Domestic Policies

90OA0349B Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI
in Arabic 29 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by Mahjub 'Urwah: "The Other Opinion: These Economic Policies"]

[Text] The economic situation is cause for alarm. The country is going through economic recession and stagnation, a commodity revolution, and inadequate services. And due to a dearth of production materials and oil supplies because of a chronic foreign currency shortage, the great majority of existing projects are operating at low-output capacity.

If the existing economic policies of almost total government control of foreign currency and foreign and domestic trade have been adopted for temporary reasons, necessitated by the salvation efforts and by the desire to stop the chronic economic corruption and hemorrhage, with a view to putting the economic house in order and rationalizing economic activity to restore it to health and put it on the right track, then such policies are alright. The people can sacrifice and persevere, especially since they are now sensing greater government efficiency and credibility, honesty, and seriousness in running the country. But to make this control and

these retroactive policies the foundation and the main objective of rule is unacceptable and these policies ought to be reconsidered immediately.

The crux of the problem is meager government revenues vis-a-vis private revenues and the fact that the government is bearing the burden of making all goods and services available under the motto of alleviating the people's suffering, in addition to its chief functions of establishing security and grappling with the insurrection. This motto is a great mistake and ought to be changed to "alleviating government suffering" so that the government may get over its constant anxiety of providing goods and services; may bolster its capabilities and financial resources to offer better basic services, including security, dignified rule, complete justice, infrastructures, health, education, stable government, and just and lasting peace; and may enhance its foreign negotiating power before nations and international financial institutions. The government should ask every members of society to share in the economic burdens and content itself with sponsoring honest and fair competition and equal opportunity, striking at corruption and ensuring that hard work rather than manipulation and clout is rewarded.

The way to improve the economic climate and attract national and Arab investment is to vitalize existing projects by resolving their problems by any appropriate means. The best way to do that is to create "production openness" by allowing productive projects to give free reign to their capabilities and not putting any obstacles in their way using economic pretexts and delusions. In this case, personal resources and no-value financing may be used to import production requirements, oil materials and production aids, for in this part of production, this policy does not create economic deformities, as is the case with haphazard importation and conspicuous consumption. The government should pay more attention to supply than demand. To this end, it should grant producers privileges, facilities, and material and moral support, and should cut taxes and customs duties on anything that can raise production and can expand the economic base if it's oriented toward exports. As for those who want to consume, let them bear the cost of their consumption. For now, priority should be given to production over consumption and to higher production and output channels over distribution channels, as officials are saying in their statements mornings and evenings.

Official Discusses Union Agenda Submitted to Government

90OA0373A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI
in Arabic 12 Feb 90 p 85

[Text] In a quick meeting with Mr. Tal-al-Sirr Muhammad 'Abidin, secretary of foreign relations of the General Union of Sudanese Workers, while he was in Cairo, I asked him about one of the developments in the current labor union situation in the Sudan. He said that the provisional office of the union submitted an agenda of the work of the union movement during the provisional period to the chairman of the leadership council of the revolution of salvation.

He pointed out that the agenda contains several points centered on the need to work to expedite the establishment and approval of a new labor union law, in view of the fact that the Union of Sudanese Workers is the essential party to establishing it, with the goal of ending the provisional period as soon as possible.

The agenda is also concerned with developing the existing economic establishments of the workers' union, continuing work on projects under preparation and implementation, and ensuring the presence of workers on the boards of directors of the establishments in which the [general] union and its labor unions have a share. It is to be guided by the decisions and recommendations of the 1988 general conference on the workers' union on adhering to the unity of the union movement and its independent nationalistic orientation, far removed from any partisan orientation that it may perform its national mission. It must defend the rights that have been won for workers and work to increase production, since that is the only way out of the economic crisis, and it must apply a minimum wage for workers in banks and public companies.

Taj-al-Sirr mentioned that the agenda contains a basic demand that detained union members be freed or put on trial if they are accused of a punishable offense; that necessary rules be established for working in the union and its systems; and that a schedule be set up for union meetings in the capital and the regions so that they will be informed of the agenda of the provisional phase and adhere to it.

The agenda also calls for the pursuit of intense activity in the area of foreign relations and for the initiation of agreements and protocols to be signed with Arab, African, and international workers' organizations. It says that delegations should be sent abroad from the union to achieve this goal and explain the circumstances faced by the Sudanese union movement, circumstances which have made the establishment of the current provisional situation necessary, and to explain the arrangements which will be made to bring about an executive situation.

Al-Sirr concluded his statements by saying that he had sent this agenda to the International Union of Labor Unions of Arab Workers so that it would be familiar with all the steps being taken by the Union of Sudanese Workers, especially since the Union of Sudanese Workers has chosen the path of dialogue with the new authorities. It concentrates on ensuring freedom of opinion, guaranteeing the practice of democracy, ensuring the rule of law, and proving the nationalism of the authorities, just as it stands firm in defense of the rights of the workers, whatever the cost to its leadership.

Study Pegs College Graduate Unemployment at 65 Percent

90OA0349A London AL-MAJALLAH
in Arabic 23 Jan 90 p 57

[Article by al-Muktafi Bil-lah Sarur: "65 Percent of Higher Education Graduates Jobless; Unemployment Crisis in Sudan"]

[Text] Sudan, just like other developing countries, is suffering from the unemployment phenomenon: fewer job opportunities in the public sector and lower growth in the private sector. Although there are no real figures on the quantitative dimension of unemployment—due to the absence of comprehensive workforce surveys in Sudan—joblessness is on the rise. Were it not for emigration opportunities that have absorbed large numbers of the workforce, estimated at half a million workers, unemployment rates would have been higher than they actually are.

The unemployment phenomenon in Sudan nowadays is associated more with university and higher institute graduates and has become a greater concern for the government than for the graduates themselves. Statistics cited in a study conducted by the Sudanese Ministry of Labor and Social Security indicate that the unemployment rate among liberal arts graduates is 65 percent and among science graduates 55 percent. These statistics estimate that from 1987 to 1991, higher education establishments will have graduated 21,938 students and high schools, 356,387 students. These numbers at their various levels represent the main source of skilled labor entering the job market.

Data and indicators included in the study show that 380,000 university and high school graduates will join the job-applicant ranks in the Sudanese job market.

A Sudanese Ministry of Labor source says that if new graduates are entering the job market at a rate of 35 to 40 percent, then it would be difficult, under the country's present circumstances of war and instability in the south and immigration and emigration, to evaluate in what direction the demand might go. The situation is rendered more difficult by the projected production slump in relation to higher rates of domestic migration and exodus from agricultural production areas.

The source says that, given the data, hiring under the best of circumstances may remain frozen in the public sector and to a large extent in the private sector as well. In his interview with AL-MAJALLAH, the source mentioned that projections predict a large increase in the number of university and high school graduates and, consequently, the unemployment phenomenon will persist amidst these groups whose training cost a lot in the short term in particular.

The main reasons behind the lower annual hiring demand is: the drop in the real volume of capital investments in the last decade; the long time it takes to put up new installations and institutions, thus doubling their costs; production difficulties encountered at many institutions already built; the structural flaws in the Sudanese economic makeup that has led to a steady decline in output capacities; and the inflationary pressures that impel the government to rely on deficit financing and borrowing from the banking system. Add to that lower purchasing powers and reliance on imports

to make up the shortage in some goods and materials at a high cost compared to export prices.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Causes of Housing Shortage Discussed

90OL0278A London AL-MAJALLAH
in Arabic 20 Feb 90 pp 43-46

[Article: "More Than 7 Billion Dirhams for Construction; Yet, Housing Crisis Persists; UAE Faces Rising Rent Rates"]

[Text] Contrary to previous expectations, the housing crisis the United Arab Emirates [UAE] has been experiencing since the start of the current economic revival cycle, which began at the end of 1988, is growing and worsening to the degree that it is no longer a transient or temporary crisis. Many years and government intervention by the authorities in charge of the housing sector, both at the federal level and the local level, are now required to deal with this crisis.

Even though the UAE housing crisis is not new and even though it has gone through numerous ebb and flow periods, it differs this time from previous times in that it includes all UAE cities and all housing levels. It is also different in that it affects all social groups, be they citizens or resident foreigners.

Until the beginning of the last decade, the housing crisis was concentrated in Abu-Dhabi Emirate and in its two main cities, namely Abu-Dhabi and al-'Ayn. At the time, the crisis was so severe that rent rates soared to very high levels. The conditions in the other emirates were not as burdensome or severe. Even though the general picture of the new crisis seems the same or closely similar in all areas, the details differ from city to city, whether in terms of dimensions and effects or of needs and cures.

In Abu-Dhabi, the crisis is taking a turn different from that taken in the other emirates, considering that the problem is almost confined to providing units for housing government employees, be they federal or local government employees or employees of the oil companies operating in the emirate.

Until 1988, there was a balance between the supply and the demand for housing units. Supply even exceeded the demand despite the fact that the federal government and the emirate government provided housing to all their employees.

Even though those housing activities absorbed the excess housing units that had remained vacant for more than three years, they did not lead to raising the rent rates, which remained stable and moderate.

But with the start of the revival cycle at the end of 1988 and with the proliferating feeling of reassurance after the end of the Iraq-Iran war, Abu-Dhabi began to witness extensive renovation activities, considering that owners

of apartment buildings that were 15 or 20 years old demolished their old buildings and built taller and bigger new apartment buildings.

As a result of the demolition and reconstruction activities, a large number of the occupants of old buildings had to look for new apartments. This resulted in increased demand and in higher rents.

What contributed to intensifying the crisis is that the Abu-Dhabi local government declared at the time its intention to provide housing to workers in the remote oil areas instead of giving them long vacations, which they spend in their native countries. Implementing this decision called for providing 3,000 housing units.

Even though the government backed down on its decision, just the fact that it had announced it whetted the desire of many for renovation and reconstruction. Consequently, such extensive demolition activities started in all parts that entire areas and quarters were demolished.

A number of government decisions contributed to boosting the enthusiasm for renovation, including a plan projected by the Commercial Buildings and Social Services Department, which finances housing construction for the citizens. This plan called for building 125 commercial apartment buildings, each consisting of 12 to 17 floors, to replace the buildings that had been demolished.

The department, whose work is supervised personally by Crown Prince Shaykh Khalifah Ibn-Zayid, appropriated nearly 650 million dirhams for the new buildings whose construction started last December and that are expected to be completed in two years.

According to 'Id Bakhit al-Mazru'i, the deputy director of the Commercial Buildings Department, the new apartment buildings will contribute to alleviating the housing crisis and to revitalizing the domestic market, in addition to the fundamental objective of creating a constant source of income to native families.

Even though the new apartment buildings will contribute to alleviating the crisis, al-Mazru'i believes that Abu-Dhabi Emirate needs 3,000 more apartments to house the employees of oil companies—and this is a decision that has been suspended but not abolished finally—and to make up for the housing units that will be eliminated as a result of the continued demolition and renovation activities.

The Abu-Dhabi local government shoulders the fundamental and major burden of the building and construction activities, whether for leasing or for housing citizens.

The Social Services and Commercial Buildings Department, known as the Shaykh Khalifah Committee, plays the role of a real estate bank, considering that it finances commercial buildings built by the citizens. It also manages and leases such buildings on behalf of the citizens.

It is evident from the figures that the Social Services and Commercial Buildings Department publishes on its activities that the financing activities are confined almost exclusively to the department and that the private sector's role in this area seems to be limited.

The fact is that the reason financing is confined to the Social Services Department is due to the banking crisis that the UAE experienced in the late 1970's when domestic and foreign banks operating in Abu-Dhabi got involved in financing long-term real estate projects—an involvement that caused them to lose their liquidity, especially since some banks encountered difficulties at the time in leasing the buildings they had financed.

Since then and on the instructions of the Central Bank, which was founded at the time, commercial banks have not been permitted to finance any real estate projects.

A committee headed by Crown Prince Shaykh Khalifah has replaced the banks and has turned into a government department known as the Commercial Buildings and Social Services Department. Since 1977, it has provided the citizens with financing in return for symbolic fees for managing the apartment buildings that are given interest-free financing.

Experts on the Abu-Dhabi real estate market believe that tackling the housing crisis Abu-Dhabi is experiencing may require more than has been expected. But the stable oil prices, the growing oil revenues, the rapid circulation of capital, and the expertise gained by the local construction companies will lead to securing stable growth in the real estate sector. These experts note that the current expansion in the construction activity seems to be more planned than ever before because the party supervising financing and implementation is a single party that has full information on the needs and the demands. Thus, this party can avert a housing crisis similar to the crisis that developed in the second half of the past decade when the supply of housing apartments exceeded the demand.

Dubayy and Northern Emirates

If the crisis in Abu-Dhabi has historical roots, then the housing crisis in Dubayy and the northern emirates seems to be totally new. In the past two decades, Dubayy, al-Shariqah, and the other emirates played a positive role in tackling some aspects of the housing crisis in Abu-Dhabi, considering that these emirates saw massive emigration from Abu-Dhabi to flee the high rent rates that were at times twice the rent rates in Dubayy and the other emirates.

As for the current crisis, Dubayy, al-Shariqah, and the other emirates are themselves suffering from high rent rates that have moved close to the rates in Abu-Dhabi.

According to sources in the Dubayy Development Council, the officials see in Dubayy's rising rent rates—rates that reflect interest in the emirate—a negative element that must be tackled. Dubayy Emirate seeks to

supply services to the prosperous commerce and industry sector at moderate rates in order that it may ensure that it will continue to be relied upon as a business center.

Officials estimate the number of housing units under construction in Dubayy at nearly 4,000 new apartments, which are expected to be finished two years from now.

These officials hope that the construction of this number will enable the rent market to regain its balance which is strongly tipped in favor of demand at present.

Even though the Dubayy Government itself finances a large part of the emirate's housing needs, the private sector seems to be active, even competitive with the government, in terms of the number of apartment buildings constructed with the financing and expertise of this sector.

As for al-Shariqah, its real estate revival nearly echoes the revival in Dubayy by virtue of the geographic proximity of the two emirates. Many of those who work in Dubayy live in al-Shariqah. Consequently, the growing demand for housing in Dubayy has in turn led to a growing demand for housing in al-Shariqah and this has led to rising rent rates, even though the increase is moderate when compared with what has been happening in Abu-Dhabi and Dubayy.

The situation in al-Shariqah differs from the situation in the other emirates in that al-Shariqah has a law that defines the landlord-tenant relationship, thus preventing the haphazard rise of rent rates, as happens at times in the other emirates.

Even though the demand for housing in al-Shariqah has revived the building and construction activities, these activities are less energetic than they are in Dubayy and Abu-Dhabi by virtue of the lack of major financing parties similar to those present in the two aforementioned emirates.

The most distinguishing feature of al-Shariqah during the current phase of revival in the construction activities

is that land prices in al-Shariqah are much lower than in Dubayy. This induces investors to build in al-Shariqah rather than Dubayy, especially if the construction is for housing, not for office space.

As for the other emirates, their housing crisis has a different character, considering that the people most strongly affected by it are young citizens who seek independence from their families in their own homes.

It is worth noting that the Public Works and Housing Ministry plays the major role in solving this crisis. The financing is provided through initiatives such as Crown Prince Shaykh Khalifah Ibn-Zayid's, which has made it possible to build a large number of economy housing units in the northern emirates. Numerous loans have also been made available to the citizens in these emirates.

In a number of studies they have conducted, officials of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor see that a fundamental solution to this crisis requires the creation of a specialized real estate bank that advances soft-term loans to the citizens.

[Box on p 45]

According to the latest statistics issued by the Social Services Department, the number of commercial buildings constructed by the department amounted by the end of last October to 2,636 buildings that cost nearly 7 billion dirhams and included nearly 25,000 apartments.

As for financing private homes for the citizens, the department has built hundreds of economy houses in Abu-Dhabi and al-'Ayn. It has also financed tens of villas belonging to citizens.

Last December, Shaykh Khalifah Ibn-Zayid issued a decree requiring the Social Services Department to finance the construction of 1,200 more housing units in al-'Ayn City and 200 villas in Abu-Dhabi. Another decree that calls for supplying citizens with loans at the rate of 500,000 dirhams a citizen and for allocating a total of 500 million dirhams for the purpose has also been issued.

AFGHANISTAN

Prime Minister on U.S. Aid, Infighting

90OA0381A Cairo LIWA' AL-ISLAM
in Arabic 26 Feb 90 pp 24-25

[Interview With Shaykh 'Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, Afghanistan's Provisional Prime Minister, by Faruq al-Sawi at Convention Palace in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia; "Interview With Shaykh 'Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, Prime Minister of Afghanistan's Provisional Government;" First Paragraph Is LIWA' AL-ISLAM introduction; Date not Given"]

[Text] Interview place: Convention Palace in Riyadh, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The interview was conducted by Faruq al-Sawi. Following is a summary of the questions and answers:

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] The Muslims watch the Afghan jihad eagerly and want to be reassured about the mujahidin's political and military situation and about the best way to topple the infidel communist rule.

[Sayyaf] We assure the Muslims, those who love the jihad, and those who aspire to regain the Islamic nation's glory that the military situation is, God be thanked, good and is improving greatly, and so is the political situation. Despite the challenges and the plots engulfing it, the cause is gaining at the level of Afghanistan and at the international level. You can see that the communist house is collapsing daily and that the internal communist entity is disintegrating. All this is considered links in the chain of Muslim and mujahidin victories and of defeats by the enemies of the jihad.

The ideal way to topple the communist rule finally and completely is to carry on with the method with which we have already toppled the provinces that have been liberated by the mujahidin, with some change, of course, in the battle tactics according to what the situation dictates from time to time.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] There are international deals and agreements between Russia and the United States. Supporters of the jihad fear that the Afghan issue may become the victim of agreement between the two superpowers. What do you say?

[Sayyaf] We are aware now and we were aware in the past that if international plots could uproot the Afghanistan cause, they would have done so sometime ago. But we believe firmly that God defends the believers and that if all the others agree, they amount to nothing before God. We always proceed on the basis of faith and we do not rely on material equations. We are well aware that if the infidel could destroy the jihad and the spirit of jihad, they would have done so. But they will not be able to do so, God willing. This is our faith in God and in His protection and support for the Muslims and the mujahidin.

Afghanistan's jihad matured and bore fruit before they could cut off this tree which continues to produce fruit. We implore God to strengthen and perpetuate the blessings of this jihad for the Muslims and for mankind.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] Some mujahidin leaders believe that elections should be held to elect an expanded government. What is your opinion in this regard? Will the new government be considered the expanded government demanded by Russia, the United States, Iran, Pakistan, India, and China?

[Sayyaf] We have decided to form a new elected consultative council and we have spelled out the qualities to be met by those elected to the council. We have decided to then leave it to the Muslims inside and outside Afghanistan to select their representatives according to these qualities. This council will then consider whether to confirm or change the existing government. To us, an expanded government means that the selection base should accommodate those Muslims who are virtuous, aware, and vigilant and that it should represent them by a greater and broader degree. To the others, an expanded government may signify things with which we have nothing to do.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] There has been infighting between the followers of Hikmatyar, the leader of the Islamic Party and of the mujahidin government, and those of Struggler Rabbani, the leader of the Islamic League.

[Sayyaf] Brother Hikmatyar wishes to speed up the elections. We have actually decided to form a new elected consultative council. This council will be formed, God willing. There is a committee working on the details of this plan and there are representatives of the Islamic Party who are participating in this committee to develop the details. Thus, there will be no disagreement between Hikmatyar and the provisional mujahidin government. As for the conflicts between the Islamic Party and the Islamic League, they have been greatly exaggerated by the enemy, they are under control, God willing, and the situation is calm and not serious now. Foreign media are the parties that have magnified and exaggerated these conflicts to this degree. Such conflicts develop in any country. We beseech God to make solving them easy. God be thanked, they are not major or fundamental conflicts.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] Who assassinated martyr Dr. 'Abdullah 'Azzam and what influence will this assassination have on the Arab supporters of the jihad? Is there a connection between the visit of Mr. Kerr, chief of the CIA's [Central Intelligence Agency] Directorate of Operations, to Pakistan on 14 November 1989 and Dr. 'Azzam's assassination on 24 November 1989?

[Sayyaf] Before the investigation is completed and its outcome made known, we cannot point a finger at any specific party or individual. What we can say is that the enemies of Islam and of the jihad have been behind these acts. It is possible that more than one party colluded in them.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] There are those who believe that the solution to the Afghan problem lies in the return of Afghanistan's ex-King, Zaher Shah, who now lives in Rome. Are there mujahidin who support the king, and what is your viewpoint on the issue?

[Sayyaf] Jihad is a word which harbors hardship, difficulties, and obstacles in its folds. But the mujahidin must interact with these problems and must tackle them with the wisdom that befits the struggling Muslim. There are no people calling for Zaher Shah's return openly. Rather, Kabul's Najib [Najibullah] is the one who has urged Zaher Shah to return because Zaher Shah is now considered one of those brought by the Russians. He will not be different from Taraki, Hafizullah, and Karmal. The fate of whoever is brought by the Russians will be the same as the fate of those who have preceded him.

[LIWA' AL-ISLAM] What are the reasons that have motivated the United States to reduce, even halt, its support for the mujahidin?

[Sayyaf] To date, the United States has not recognized the mujahidin government. The United States has supported our battles, but has not supported our struggle objectives. There is a difference between support for one's struggle and for one's struggle objectives. The Americans wanted to humiliate the Russians. This has been done and their objectives have been accomplished. What remains for us is to accomplish the mujahidin's objectives and the objectives for which we have risen to struggle.

BANGLADESH

Prime Minister Meets Press, Discusses Elections

46001312 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 12 Feb 90 pp 1, 10

[Article: "PM Hints at Early Election"]

[Text] Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed on Sunday said that President Ershad would consider holding of Parliament election earlier than schedule if all the opposition Parties agree to participate in the polls and request the Government for announcing the date for elections.

Addressing a Press conference at the Prime Minister's Secretariat, Kazi Zafar Ahmed said that the Opposition demand for dissolution of the Parliament and holding of a free and fair election under a neutral government was not "tenable and acceptable" to the Government. Refuting the charge of the Opposition which termed the present parliament as "illegal" he asserted that the Parliament "elected by the people is very much legal and sovereign." He added that the Opposition parties which did not participate in the Parliament elections had no

right to term the polls as rigged and unfair. He said that the present Government was committed to uphold the sovereignty of the Parliament.

Asked to comment on the demand of the Opposition Bench in the Parliament to change the 1972 constitution the prime Minister said that the Government had no intention to create any controversy on the Constitution. He added that the Government had no plan to change the Constitution as it would lead to "anarchy and constitutional vacuum." He said that the present Government had accepted the constitution and it was running the country adding by the Constitution.

He however observed that the 1972 Constitution was framed by the people who were not elected for the Constitution Assembly.

Special Powers Act

Replying to a question whether the Government would repeal the Special Powers Act of 1974, the Prime Minister said that the present Government inherited the law. He pointed out that the Act was passed by the Awami league Government and the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] Government under President Ziaur Rahman did not change it. He said that the present Government was the first to express its desire to review the Act.

The Prime Minister said that the application of the Special Power Act "sometimes become essential". He however, claimed that the present Government did not use the law on political ground refuting the allegation against the Government that it has violated the human rights by applying this law. He said "there is no abuse of this law by the present Government."

Replying to questions, the Prime Minister claimed that the Government had not closed down any newspaper under the Special Power act on political ground. Asked whether the government would life ban on closed newspaper he said that if any one felt aggrieved by the "legal action" of the Government he should go to the court.

The Prime Minister asserted that the law and order situation now was much better than that of 1974. But he admitted that there was still law and order problem in the country now.

Replying to a question, the Prime Minister said that he was not aware of anyone who opposed the War of Liberation was now in the Cabinet. He avoided a reply asked whether there was any charge against Jamaat Prof. Golam Azam.

Who is holding the charge of the Information Ministry the Prime Minister replied that he was not aware of any "advice" by the Press Information Department [PID] told him about the restrictions imposed by the PID on the coverage of the Parliament proceedings and other news items.

Vice President Speaks on Foreign Investment

46001315 Dhaka THE NEW NATION
in English 4 Feb 90 p 3

[Article: "Foreign Investment in Bangladesh Given Great Importance: Moudud"]

[Text] Vice President Moudud Ahmed addressed a special briefing session titled 'Bangladesh new investment potential in South Asia' at the 1990 annual meeting of the World Economic Forum which began at Davos (Switzerland) on Thursday, reports BSS.

The session was attended by the entrepreneurs, investors, business executives and other business leaders.

Mr Klaus Jacobi, State Secretary Foreign Affairs of the Government of Switzerland acted as the Moderation of the session.

The Vice President said the Government of Bangladesh has attached great importance to industrialization and foreign investment in the country.

He elaborated the new industrial policy of Bangladesh in which all support and assistance are provided to the private sector.

Mr. Moudud informed the participants that by law all foreign private investments are secured in Bangladesh. He also outlined the package of incentives being given by the Bangladesh government in respect of foreign private investments in the country. He referred to, among others, the tax holiday from 5 to 22 years, relief from double taxation, tariff, protection, exemption of tax on interest on foreign loans and remittance opportunities etc.

Referring to the elimination of all bureaucratic hurdles to foreign investments the Vice-President mentioned the establishment of the Board of Investment as a one step facility for all foreign investors.

He also mentioned the facilities available at the Export Processing Zone set up in 1983 in Chittagong where some 50 industries had already been set up and the new such export, zones, which are going up including one in Dhaka.

The participants expressed keen interest in the investment opportunities in Bangladesh and made a large number of enquiries.

The World Economic Forum was scheduled to show a film on investment potential entitled 'Bangladesh land of promise' in its television programmes beginning on Friday.

Special Treatment to Textiles Urged

Vice-President Moudud Ahmed on Friday also called upon the developed countries to provide special treatment to textile and clothing export from least developed countries [LDCs] taking into the difficult economic situation faced by LDCs.

He was participating in the deliberations during the 2nd day of the World Textile Trade and Industry Forum

being held here as a part of the 1990 World Economic Forum annual meeting, says an official source here.

The discussions focused on the future world trade in textiles and apparels and the latest status of the Uruguay Round of negotiations for textiles.

The Vice-President emphasised the importance of the ongoing negotiations in the textile sector, and called upon the importing developed countries to fulfil their commitment made during the Uruguay Round to progressive phasing out of restriction under the existing multi-fiber arrangements (MFA). He underlined that dismantling of MFA restrictions should start with the exports from least developed countries.

Mr Moudud also elaborated to the participants the proposals which Bangladesh had already submitted to the Uruguay Round negotiations regarding special treatment to be accorded to LDCs.

The developed countries should provide all supports so that this important industrial sector in LDCs like Bangladesh could have a healthy and dynamic growth, he said.

He also discussed the textile quota problems faced by Bangladesh in its exports to the United States with Chief American textile negotiator, Ronald Sorini.

Minister Scores Corruption in Politics, Society

46001314 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 6 Feb 90 p 10

[Article: "Corruption Rampant in Society, Says Labour Minister"]

[Text] A Senior Minister of the Government on Monday said in Parliament that rampant corruption had been eating into the vitals of the society, reports UNB.

"You can buy anything here—corruption is rampant everywhere—in politics, trade and industry. We must stop it", Labour and Manpower Minister Sirajul Hossain Khan said while participating in the thanksgiving motion on President's inaugural address.

Khan, in his fiery and hard-hitting speech Monday night, called for launching an anti-corruption drive against the country's politicians first to eradicate corruption from the society.

"We must free politics from corruption—if we can do it we will be able to wipe out corruption from other fields also," he said.

Known for his left-leaning politics, Khan without naming anyone said a statesman in East Europe, who had been overthrown and executed in a firing squad, was charged with corruption and owning a palatial house.

Steps should be taken to find out how many politicians in this country have become owners of palatial houses, he said.

Pointing out the prevailing situation in East Europe, Khan a journalist turned politician sounded a note of warning that "social upheaval" which had been moving ahead might hit the country before 1995.

"You have seen the events in the East Europe... it will be much intense here in Bangladesh. Beware of it," he cautioned.

Referring to the unscrupulous industrialists, Khan said a section of entrepreneurs, in the name of setting up industries, are engaged in looting money and depositing the same to foreign banks without making any investment in the country.

The Labour and Manpower Minister called for stern action against "these corrupt industrialists."

He criticised the politics of the opposition parties for "lack of direction" which, he said, prompted the people to ignore their call for intensifying the anti-government movement.

Stressing the need for giving democracy an institutional shape, Khan urged the opposition politicians to come forward in this regard: "If democratic dispensation is not ensured, the future of the nation will be dark," he said.

Turning to the popular demand for free and fair polls, the Minister said both the government and the opposition parties would have to make concerted efforts for taking pragmatic steps to ensure free and fair elections in the country.

He said the Jatiya Party is committed to holding free and fair elections and urged other political parties to make public commitments as well to help ensure a fair election in future.

The Minister described the Presidential speech as pragmatic and clear, and said it contained self-criticism of the government as well as indicated ways for solving the problems facing the nation.

The debate at the evening session was participated by Golam Rabbani, Mong Shwe Pruc Chowdhury, Gousal Azma, M. Mansur Ali, Matiur Rahman A.K.M. Fazlul Haq, Mainuddin Sarker of the JatiAya Party, Kalimuddin Ahmed and Muslim Uddin of COP [Combined Opposition Parties], and Abdul Matin Mia of JSD [Jatiya Samajatantrik Dal (Nationalist Socialist Party)] (Siraj).

Bangladesh TV Interviews Mitterrand Prior to Visit

46001310 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 21 Feb 90 pp 1, 10

[Article: "France Assures Support to Flood Control Plan"]

[Text] French President Francois Mitterrand declared unequivocally that his country will stand by Bangladesh in its search for a durable solution to the problem of recurring floods, reports BSS.

President Mitterrand gave the assurance in an exclusive interview with Bangladesh Television at the Elysee Palace in Paris.

"You can certainly be assured that France will see that the flood action plan goes ahead," the French leader said during the interview which was telecast by BTV Tuesday night.

President Mitterrand said that Bangladesh and France have come closer in recent years and this friendship will be enduring despite the geographical distance between the two countries.

Recalling his talks with President Ershad during the latter's state visit to France last year, President Mitterrand said that he was greatly interested by what he was told.

"I think Bangladesh can be a prosperous country if it could be protected from the rigours of nature," he said.

The French President lauded the leadership of President Ershad and said that they are now friends.

"We were twice together in 1989 and I am greatly impressed by him. I am looking forward to meeting President Ershad again in Dhaka," Mr. Mitterrand said.

French experts have made a study of the flood problem in Bangladesh and one can really hope that a solution to the recurring catastrophes will be found with the technical knowledge which is available worldwide, he said.

"France will work to bring about an international solidarity to help Bangladesh both financially and technically to tackle the floods," Mr. Mitterrand said.

Speaking on the global effort on the Bangladesh floods, the French leader said that it was for the first time that the international community has come together to help a country fighting a natural disaster.

"Bangladesh is an example of how the international community can work together for a good cause," Mr. Mitterrand said.

France will call upon her friends to further strengthen the international endeavours in aiding Bangladesh.

President Mitterrand spoke of the opportunities of foreign investments in Bangladesh and said France will encourage her investors to take a greater interest in Bangladesh.

"I am sure Bangladeshi people are enterprising and they will certainly prosper from foreign investments," he said.

The French leader assured that he would do his best to bring confidence in French investors in the prospects in Bangladesh.

President Mitterrand said that he did not think that the policy of the French Government towards the Third World will change in 1992 when Europe is integrated.

"The leaders of the twelve European countries will continue to take an active interest in the developing nations," he said.

He said that the share of Third World aid has not been curtailed on the French budget as a result of new commitments to the East European countries where a liberalization programme is on.

Reportage on Indian Foreign Minister's Dhaka Visit

16 Feb Arrival, Expectations

46001309A Calcutta THE STATESMAN
in English 17 Feb 90 pp 1, 14

[Article by Manash Ghosh: "India Responsive to Neighbours"]

[Text] Dhaka, Feb 16—Soon after his arrival here to a warm welcome, the Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr I. K. Gujral, assured the Bangladesh leadership that the new National Front Government was committed to being responsive to the interests of its neighbours. Firmly assuring the Bangladesh leadership that the new Indian Government would play its part in Bangladesh's stability and progress, Mr Gujral said there was more room for cooperation than mistrust and there was a great potential for friendship between the two countries.

Mr Gujral accompanied by his wife, the Secretary of the External Affairs Ministry, Mr Muchkund Dubey, and a host of other senior Indian officials, arrived here on a three-day visit at the invitation of the Bangladesh Government. Highlighting the importance that the National Front Government attached to Indian's neighbours, Mr Gujral said his first two foreign visits had been to fellow member countries of the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation], the Maldives and Bangladesh. India attached importance to Bangladesh since it was the most populous SAARC neighbour and the most newly independent SAARC country. "Whenever we refer to the independence of Bangladesh we recall those shared historic events with considerable emotion".

Mr and Mrs Gujral, who were welcomed at the airport by the Bangladesh Foreign Minister, Mr Anisul Islam Mahmud, later addressed a banquet and said India and Bangladesh had inherited problems which should be resolved through a common approach of mutual respect, trust and confidence. "I have little doubt that we shall be able to clear away some of the cobwebs of the past".

The Bangladesh Foreign Minister said the recent change of Government in Indian was a momentous event. In tune with the changes taking place all over the world both the countries should try to resolve outstanding issues in a determined fashion.

Expectation is running high in Bangladesh official circles about the positive outcome of Mr Gujral's visit. The most important objective that the Bangladesh leaders want to achieve from this visit is to develop a personal approach with one of the most important Cabinet Ministers of the National Front Government in Delhi. Bangladesh Ministers make no secret of the fact that the present set of Indian rulers are totally strangers to them and efforts should be made to establish a rapport with them.

However, the Bangladesh leader who desperately wants Mr. Gujral's visit to succeed is Mr. Anisul Islam Mahmud whose immediate political future is largely dependent on its outcome. Ever since his appointment as Bangladesh's Foreign Minister more than a year ago, Mr Mahmud has considerably softened the confrontationist line taken by his predecessor, Mr Humayun Rashid Chowdhury, and opted for a pragmatic line by seeking to improve ties with India. He has so far said or done nothing which may be considered overtly anti-India. Even a large section of the local Press, traditionally hostile towards Indian, has discovered virtues in the Indian democratic system and want Bangladesh to have good ties with its largest neighbour.

Many here believe that this is the natural fall-out of the theory propounded by Mr Mahmud that a pragmatic rather than a confrontationist line is in Bangladesh's best interest and will help it to get some significant concessions from Indian. This would encourage Indian to be considerate on issues like the Tin-Bigha enclave and not arm the tribal Shanti Bahini insurgents in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Even Indian diplomats here affirm that the Bangladesh Government's behaviour and attitude during the past one year have been the best in recent years. Many Indian proposals have met with ready response from the other side and there is no deliberate effort to malign or embarrass India or rouse emotions against India on issues which appeal to Bangladesh.

For instance Bangladesh's official reaction on issues like the Barbari Masjid and Kashmir had been muted and somewhat ambiguous although it is under pressure from Pakistan and other Islamic countries and bodies to join in their strident chorus against India. Except a three-line statement in Bangladesh Parliament that the Government was following the situation in Kashmir, Mr Mahmud has so far said nothing on the events in the troubled Indian State.

Mr Mahmud is known to have told his Cabinet colleagues that by taking this pragmatic stand he had staked his personal prestige and popularity for improving ties with India and it was now for India to reciprocate by making moves which would strengthen his stand.

But what has greatly imperilled his continuance as the Foreign Minister is his reported statement made a year ago that a permanent arrangement for the sharing of Ganga water would be arrived at within a year, with little sign of an agreement being reached on this contentious

issue in the immediate future, unless something dramatic happens during the next three days of India-Bangladesh talks, sources say Mr. Mahmud's position in the present office might become insecure unless India bailed him out. Already his critics are gunning for him.

What is also being looked upon with great interest by Bangladeshi leaders of all shades is the role of the West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, in influencing the official Indian stand on Ganga water and the Tin-Bigha enclave. Suddenly Mr Basu has become an important man for Bangladesh. Some here even say that Mr Basu is playing a critical role in shaping Bangladesh's destiny.

Bangladesh's leaders view Mr Basu and his CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] party as a secular Bengali force having powerful influence within the National Front Government. But they are worried about the stand that he and his party would take on issues that vitally concern West Bengal and Bangladesh. This is because the needs of West Bengal and Bangladesh are identical. Both need more Ganga water to fight salinity and to meet increased irrigation requirements. The question being asked here is would Mr Basu agree to give more water to Bangladesh by sacrificing the interest of his own State? The Bangladeshi expectation here is that, except Farakka, he might put in a good word for Bangladesh on all other matters to the Front Government. They also know well that Mr V. P. Singh cannot overrule Mr Basu's contention that the way Mr Rajiv Gandhi did because of the critical support he and his party extend to the National Front Government.

The issue of the 70,000 Chakma refugees living in Tripura will also figure prominently in the talks. Bangladesh wants that India should in no way help the tribal insurgents and instead repatriate them at the earliest.

However, Bangladeshi Opposition parties, including the Awami League, are not very enthusiastic about Mr Gujral's visit. They think that any concession given by India would further consolidate President Ershad's position. He would flaunt the concession as an achievement which no other Government could secure for Bangladesh and put the Opposition more on the defensive.

More on Arrival

46001309A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 17 Feb 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] Indian External Affairs Minister Mr Inder Kumar Gujral who arrived in Dhaka on Friday on a three-day visit to Bangladesh termed the present Indo-Bangladesh relations as "very good" but admitted that it could have been better as vast areas of cooperation existed between the two neighbours.

Mr. Gujral flew here from New Delhi by 'Rajdoot' a special aircraft of the Indian Air force, on his first visit as the new Indian Foreign Minister carrying a message of "goodwill" from the Indian Prime Minister V. P. Shing

for President Ershad. Talking to newsmen at Zia International Airport the Indian Foreign Minister termed his visit as a milestone."

In strengthening further cooperation and friendship between the two countries.

The new Indian Foreign Minister denied the existence of any differences and problems in Dhaka-now Delhi relations. Replying to a question he said, I visualise no difference and problem in our relations. He however acknowledged that there were some difficulties in the relations between the two neighbours. He preferred to term the outstanding problems between the two countries as "aberrations" when his attention was drawn to the bilateral problems that still remained unresolved. He hoped that the two countries could work with confidence for better relations and cooperation.

Asked whether there could be any solution to the outstanding issues regarding the sharing of the Ganges waters the Indian Foreign Minister said "I have not come here with a readymade solution. He hastened to add that he came here with a "positive mind" to discuss the bilateral issues.

Mr Gujral's counterpart Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud was sitting beside him tight lipped when he was commenting on the Indo-Bangladesh relations.

The Indian Foreign Minister in his arrival statement said that he was delighted to visit Bangladesh and hoped that it would help improve the bilateral relations. He claimed that he was a believer in the concept of the South Asia as a region of peace and cooperation.

Asked whether the Indo-Bangladesh relations will improve by resolving the outstanding problems the Indian Foreign Minister replied when the world is changing it will be foolishness on our part to overlook the changers. he avoided a reply when a Bangladeshi journalist asked whether there would also be change in the attitude of India to Bangladesh.

Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud who received his Indian counterpart at the airport told newsmen that the new Indian government had spoke about better relations with the neighbours and he considered the visit of the Indian Foreign Minister as an expression of its "goodwill". He said that they would discuss the bilateral issues.

Mr Gujral is accompanied by his wife and they were greeted at the airport by their hosts Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud and his wife. Mr Muchkund Dubey Secretary of the Indian External Affairs Ministry and a strong team of media-men from India accompanied the Indian Foreign Minister.

This visit by an Indian Foreign Minister is taking place after a long gap of three years following the visit by the then Foreign Minister Mr Narayn Dutt Tiwari in early 1987.

Mr Gujral will leave Dhaka on Sunday.

Outcome, Content of Talks

46001309A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 18 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] Dhaka, Feb 17 (UNI)—The Bangladesh government today announced its decision to return to Hindu owners their properties acquired by it after 1984 and also promised to take steps to check illegal migration across the border.

The government said it would also send an official team to India to persuade Chakma tribal refugees to return to Bangladesh.

This was the major outcome of three hours of official talks between the two countries led by their respective foreign ministers.

India's external affairs minister, Mr I. K. Gujral, is on an official visit to this country.

The talks reviewed the entire gamut of bilateral relations between the two countries and the situation in the region.

It was also decided to revive the task force set up in 1988 to control floods between the two countries from the common rivers (the force had been set up after a visit by the Bangladesh President, Gen H. M. Ershad, to India in September 1988. It had held three meetings thereafter but failed to get off the ground).

The task force will draw up short-term and long-term measures to control floods in the region.

Bangladesh said it will lay a broad gauge line between Rangpur and Singhabad to facilitate greater movement of Indian goods to Bangladesh.

An official spokesman said it had been agreed to conclude an agreement on avoidance of double taxation at the third meeting of the Indo-Bangladesh joint economic commission, to be held in May this year in New Delhi after a gap of seven years.

During a review of bilateral trade, the Bangladesh foreign minister, Mr Anisul Islam Mahmud, invited Indian investment and said any request in this connection would be dealt with in a positive manner.

The internal political situation in Bangladesh had stabilised following fundamental reforms undertaken in 1987 and several foreign investors from Japan, South Korea and Western Europe were coming to his country.

The Bangladesh government had set up a one-window clearance system for new projects eliminating 38 agencies.

Regarding the Teen Bigha issue, Mr Mahmud said it was no longer a problem between the two countries. He was glad that the Indian supreme court would hear on

February 20 an appeal by the Indian government against the West Bengal high court order for transfer of land to Bangladesh.

The land in question will connect Bangladesh to two enclaves in India.

Earlier, welcoming Mr Gujral, Mr Mahmud said that Bangladesh considered India as a "special friend", and that the current talks would bring the two countries closer. Bangladesh was confident that Mr Gujral's discussions would create the right atmosphere for meaningful co-operation between the two countries.

His country had great confidence in the new Indian government's stated objectives of establishing friendlier relations with neighbours and called it a move in the right direction.

In his reply, Mr Gujral said the discussions had been useful and purposeful and that he had every intention of making his visit a historic one.

An official spokesman said that Mr. Gujral apprised Mr Mahmud of the Indian government's effort to improve relations with neighbours and put across the bona fides of its intention to promote the atmosphere of co-operation and friendship among the countries of the region.

He underlined the fact that Bangladesh was the second country he had decided to visit after Maldives since the new government took over.

The two sides also discussed the thorny issue of sharing of Ganga waters. Discussions in this regard would continue tomorrow.

Although no firm decision is expected on the issue, they will agree on a broad framework of ad hoc arrangements on water sharing. No arrangement exists at present as the ten-year agreement between the two countries on sharing of the waters lapsed in 1987.

Regarding the Hindu properties, Bangladesh informed the Indian side that it was trying to formulate a legal framework for implementation of its decision to restore them to their owners.

Explaining the steps taken by it to ensure that the Chakmas were not compelled to cross over to India, Bangladesh said a district council, headed by a tribal, was being set up in the Chittagong hill tracts.

The government had also made available special funds for tribal areas to ensure their economic upliftment.

The Indian government assured its full co-operation in locating Chakmas indulging in anti-Bangladesh activities. There are at present 70,000 Chakma refugees in Tripura.

The Indian side conveyed to Bangladesh its concern about the continuous flow of illegal immigrants and requested that country to take practical measures to prevent such influx.

In the past ten years, about one million illegal entrants have caused demographical imbalances in major cities like Calcutta.

The Indian side assured Bangladesh that it considered its borders sacrosanct and did not support any movement detrimental to the interest of Bangladesh.

On Kashmir, Mr Gujral handed over to Mr. Mahmud documents containing threats by the Pakistan occupied Kashmir President, Sardar Abdul Qayyum, to send 10,000 volunteers across the border to "liberate" the Muslims.

Mr Mahmud said that Bangladesh would like a peaceful solution of the Kashmir issue in the interest of stability in South Asia.

Regarding the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC), India was not against having two summits in a year if the other members so desired.

Report on Gujral Dinner Speech

46001309A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 18 Feb 90 p 3

[Text] Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud on Friday said Bangladesh and India should address themselves in a determined fashion to resolve bilateral problems, says BSS.

He was speaking at a dinner hosted in honour of Indian Foreign Minister Mr Inder Kumar Gujral.

The Foreign Minister said tensions are easing and conflicts transforming into co-operation in the world today, caught up in a whirlwind of changes.

"There is no reason for our outstanding problems to linger on—problems such as sharing of common rivers, transfer of Tin Bigha to Bangladesh, demarcation of our boundaries, return of Bangladeshi Tribal refugees from India, joint survey of South-Talpatty, he said.

"Our complementarities are compelling arguments for strengthening our economic ties." Mr Mahmud said referring to SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] which, he said, has provided a framework for the purpose.

Mr Anisul Islam Mahmud said Bangladesh and Indian related to each other across a very wide spectrum. It is natural for differences to exist, he said and added that some of these differences arose out of the geographical fact that "we are neighbours."

"But there is none that we cannot resolve if we put our minds and hearts to it. SAARC is a family where

members live in separate household. But the ties that bind us are far stronger than those that divide."

Mr Mahmud described the recent change of Government in India as a momentous event. He said Bangladesh welcomed the new Government's assertion of friendship and peace. "We are pleased that you are showing every sign that they mean what you say."

BSS further adds: Indian Minister of External Affairs Mr Gujral said on Friday night that there was a greater room for co-operation than mistrust and a greater potential for friendship than for suspicion and added that India was ready to play its part in the economic progress of Bangladesh.

He was speaking in Dhaka at a dinner hosted in his honour by Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud.

Mr Gujral said when we look at certain bilateral issues with a common approach of mutual respect, mutual trust and confidence. I have little doubt that we shall be able to clear away some of the cobwebs of the past.

Visit To Lead to Closer Dialogue

He said his visit would lead to a closer dialogue between India and Bangladesh on many vistas of future co-operation.

He added that the discussions would continue when Mr Mahmud visits New Delhi for the Joint Economic Commission meeting in April.

Mr Gujral said his Government was committed to being responsive and sympathetic to the national interests and sensitivities of its neighbours. "We seek your government's understanding, co-operation and reciprocity by being equally responsive to our national interests and sensitivities, to enable us to pursue this policy of good neighbourliness."

Mr Gujral said the National Front Government had made clear its earnest desire to make every effort to strengthen bilateral ties with neighbours to mutual benefit and for the greater advantage of their respective peoples.

Gujral Press Conference

46001309A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 19 Feb 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] Indian External Affairs Minister Inder Kumar Gujral who left Dhaka on Sunday evening at the end of his three-day visit to Bangladesh, the first by an Indian Foreign Minister after a gap of three years, said that India was willing to improve its relations with Bangladesh.

Addressing a crowded Press Conference at the Foreign Office before his departure for New Delhi by a special aircraft of the Indian Foreign Minister said: "I had very friendly meetings in Dhaka and I am going back as a satisfied man". he claimed that during his visit he was

successful in identifying the areas of cooperation and friendship between his country and Bangladesh and he said, "I firmly believe that our relations are now set on sound footing".

Mr Gujral who came here on his first visit as the new Indian Foreign Minister following the change of Government in New Delhi last November, asserted that there was no difference and problem between his country and Bangladesh. he preferred to term the outstanding bilateral problems as "difficult".

But his host, Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud who was sitting beside him at the Press Conference, pointed out some of the outstanding problems that still remained unresolved between the two neighbours. He said: "The complex issues that remained as irritants in Indo-Bangladesh relations could not be resolved to our satisfaction". He mentioned about the outstanding problems like sharing of the Ganges water, handing over of Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh, return of the Chakma tribals to their home in Chittagong Hill Tracts from the refugee camps in the Indian state of Tripura and determination of the ownership of the South Talpatty island.

The Indian Foreign Minister told newsmen that New Delhi would cooperate in facilitating the return of the Chakma refugees from Tripura. He informed that a goodwill mission from Bangladesh would visit the camps in Tripura to persuade the Chakma refugees to return to their home.

Tin Bigha

On Tin Bigha issue, the Indian Foreign Minister said that New Delhi was committed to transfer the corridor to Bangladesh as soon as the litigational problem on the matter was removed. he said that a hearing on the objection to the transfer of the corridor to Bangladesh would be held on February 20 at the Indian Supreme Court.

Asked whether India would ratify the 1974 Indo-Bangladesh land boundary agreement signed by the then Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mrs Indira Gandhi that stipulated the transfer of the Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh. Mr Gujral said that India ratified the agreement. Before replying to the question, he consulted Mr Muchkund Dubey, Secretary of his External Affairs Ministry, but the statement of the Indian Foreign Minister puzzled newsmen as the Indian Parliament was yet to ratify the agreement though Bangladesh ratified it in 1974. A senior official of the Bangladesh Foreign Office told some of the journalists after the Press Conference that India had not ratified the land boundary agreement.

JRC To Be Reactivated

Referring to the Ganges water sharing issue, the Indian Foreign Minister said that the two sides had agreed to reactivate the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission (JRC) that remained ineffective for the last few

years. He added that the JRC would discuss the short and long-term solution to the Ganges water sharing issue.

Mr Gujral said that the Indo-Bangladesh Joint Economic Commission would meet in New Delhi on May 20. Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud will lead the Bangladesh delegation and the meeting would discuss the trade link and explore the avenues of joint ventures, he added.

The Indian Foreign Minister disclosed that the two sides agreed to avoid double taxation on goods between the countries. An Agreement on this decision would be signed soon, he added.

On the South Talpatty issue, the Indian Foreign Minister said that both countries would exchange data to determine the ownership of the island on the basis of international law. He also informed the press about the decision to reactivate the joint task force on flood control for submitting its report as early [as] possible.

Asked to comment on these, Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud said that India had assured to cooperate in helping the return of the Chakma refugees that it would not allow the Shanti Bahini "miscreants" to use the sanctuary inside the Indian territory. He hoped that India would soon hand over the Tin Bigha corridor to Bangladesh after the court hearing. he informed that the Indian Foreign Minister assured him of continuing the discussion to find out a solution to the Ganges water sharing and South Talpatty issues.

Kashmir

In reply to a question, the Indian Foreign Minister said that Kashmir was an integral part of India and it was an internal affair of India. He asserted that Pakistan was interfering in Kashmir.

Asked whether India would welcome a mediation by any SAARC country including Bangladesh to solve the Kashmir problem, Mr Gujral said "we have neither sought it nor got it".

When an Indian journalist asked Bangladesh Foreign Minister to comment on Bangladesh-Pakistan relations, Mr Anisul Islam Mahmud said, "We have extremely good relations with Pakistan". Replying to the Indian journalist's question whether Bangladesh forgot and forgiven the killings of millions of Bangladeshis by the Pakistan Army during the War of Liberation of 1971, the Foreign Minister said, "It is now a part of history" to an Indian journalist. He replied that he had no information whether Pakistan had interfered in Kashmir.

In reply to a question, the Indian Foreign Minister said that the Indian peace keeping force in Sri Lanka would be withdrawn by March 31. He told newsmen that India was willing to resolve its issues with Nepal.

Asked whether the new Government in New Delhi was changing India's attitude towards its neighbours, Mr Gujral said: "My policy is positive and I am ready to cooperate".

He said that India wanted friendship and cooperation among all nations in South Asia. He observed that SAARC should be strengthened as the platform of peace, friendship and cooperation.

Besides the two Foreign Ministers, Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Mr Abul Ahsan and his Indian counterpart, Mr Muchkund Dubey were present at the Press conference which was delayed by about an hour as the Indian Foreign Minister came late to the Foreign Office for the joint Press conference.

Farewell Calls

46001309A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 19 Feb 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] The Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr Inder Kumar Gujral, made a courtesy call on President Husain Muhammad Ershad at the President's Secretariat this morning, says BSS.

Mr Gujral apprised the President of the progress of talks on bilateral issues being held between the two countries and said India attached importance to improving ties with its neighbours.

President Ershad expressed satisfaction at the progress of talks.

The President said better understanding between the two countries would depend on finding a solution of all the outstanding issues.

He told Mr Gujral to convey his best wishes to Prime Minister V. P. Singh and President R. Venkataraman. President Ershad said he was looking forward to meeting Prime Minister Singh at an appropriate time.

The Indian Minister said his discussions with his Bangladesh counterpart were held on a positive attitude to help find mutually acceptable solution to all the outstanding issues.

Mr Gujral said India would not extend any support to the so-called "Bangabhumii" movement and said "the existing political boundary of India was sacrosanct to use."

He gave the assurance of whole-hearted cooperation of the Indian government facilitating the return of refugees to the Chittagong Hill Tracts. He said no miscreants would be given sanctuary in the Indian side.

The Indian Minister also apprised President ERshad that further talks would be held between the two sides during his current visit to strike a solution of sharing of the Ganges waters.

Mr Gujral said Tin Bigha would be handed over to Bangladesh as soon as the case pending in this regard before the Indian Supreme Court was disposed of.

Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud, Foreign Secretary Abdul Ahsan, and Secretary in the Indian External Affairs Ministry Muchkund Dubey, Bangladesh High Commissioner to India Faruque Ahmed Chowdhury and Indian High Commissioner to Bangladesh Srinivashan were present.

Calls on Kazi Zafar

BSS adds: Indian Minister for External Affairs Mr I. K. Gujral on Sunday called on the Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed at the Prime minister's secretariat.

Kazi Zafar Ahmed underscored the importance that Bangladesh attaches to the friendly and good neighbourly relations with India.

Hailing the success of the National Front in the Lok Sabha polls, the Prime Minister congratulated the National Front government and conveyed warm greetings and good wishes to Indian Prime Minister Mr V. P. Singh.

Kazi Zafar Ahmed reiterated the importance of resolving out-standing issues in the interest of stable cordial relations between the two countries. He reiterated Bangladesh's abiding commitment to process attaining momentum, a positive and constructive climate and cooperation would prevail in the region.

Reciprocating the sentiments, the Indian Minister of External Affairs hoped that the existing excellent relations between Bangladesh and India would continue to grow and be strengthened in the days ahead.

Nepalese Foreign Minister Interviewed in Dhaka

46001311 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 15 Feb 90 pp 1, 10

[Article: "Upaddhaya Deplores Indian Interference"]

[Text] Nepalese Foreign Minister Shailendra Kumar Upaddhaya on Wednesday underlined the need for holding the stalled 5th SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit at Colombo as soon as possible in the interest of the South Asian forum.

He regretted the delay in holding the summit adding that a process must be worked out urgently to overcome the stalemate.

Upaddhaya, who was in Dhaka in connection with the just concluded LDC [Least Developed Countries] Ministerial meeting in an interview at his hotel suite on Wednesday before departing for home, told UNB that he believed Sri Lanka was taking preparation to host the summit.

Pakistan Foreign Minister Shahebzada Yakub Khan has also visited different SAARC capitals for necessary consultations. He should also visit Dhaka and Thimpu in this connection, he hoped. Islamabad is the current Chairman of the 7-nation SAARC.

He dismissed as "mere speculation" a news item that Nepal had expressed its willingness to hosting the 5th SAARC summit. "It must take place in Sri Lanka," he asserted.

On Sri Lanka's condition for withdrawal of Indian peace keeping forces from the Island state before the summit, Upaddhaya said, "everyone should understand the delicate position of Sri Lanka."

On Indo-Nepal disputes, Upaddhaya said those had arisen as the treaty between the two countries on trade and transit lapsed. "In ten months we had never been able to negotiate a new treaty," he said.

The Nepalese Foreign Minister said his latest visit to New Delhi is expected to be followed up by a visit to India by a Nepalese delegation early next week for further talks to end the stalemate.

"Nepal wants to come to a settlement in a friendly manner through negotiations," Upaddhaya observed.

The Nepalese Foreign Minister also observed that Pakistan and India should settle the Kashmir issue in a peaceful way. He described the issue as "strictly a bilateral matter that affects the South Asia, if not the whole world."

Turning to the present tension prevailing in the Indian held Kashmir valley, Upaddhaya said that it appeared that both India and Pakistan do not want escalation of the tension and are not going for war.

"India and Pakistan—the two giants of South Asia should avoid war in the interests of peace in the region," he said.

Responding to a question on the current domestic politics in his country, Upaddhaya made it clear that "Nepal does have partyless systems. We neither have one-party system."

Members of the parliament are elected on the basis of the adult franchise, he said elaborating the system. The Prime Minister and other members of the cabinet are responsible to the parliament and there is freedom of the press and freedom of expression in Nepal, he said.

He went on to say that some banned political organisations, particularly the Nepalese Congress, had been provoking the people against the system which they accepted through referendum.

But the people from all walks of life were resisting the activities of those banned political organisations, he said.

Referring to recent statements by some Indian politicians who said there was no democracy in Nepal, he observed that such remarks amounted to interference into the country's internal affairs.

Upaddhaya expressed satisfaction over the present "excellent relation" between Bangladesh and Nepal.

He said his meetings with President Hussain Muhammad Ershad, Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed and Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud would further strengthen the bilateral relations.

The Nepalese Foreign Minister who led his country's delegation to the just-concluded LDC Ministerial Meeting described its outcome as "fruitful."

Least Developed Countries' Ministerial Meeting in Dhaka

10 Feb Meeting

46001316 Dhaka THE NEW NATION
in English 11 Feb 90 pp 1, 8

[Article: "We Must Show Unity To Reach Goal: Ershad"]

[Text] The three-day ministerial meeting of the least developed countries (LDCs), with its focus on the problems and issues to be raised at the UN-sponsored conference on LDCs to be held in Paris in September next, began in Dhaka yesterday with a call by President Ershad for greater unity and understanding among the LDCs to attract global attention and to compete successfully for the scarce resources.

Inaugurating the meeting at the International Conference Centre (ICC), President Ershad stressed the need for "conveying a new message of hope and positive determination" not only to the four hundred million people in the LDCs but also to the economically prosperous and technologically developed nations". He noted, the LDCs are fighting the ancient enemies of humanity and "we deserve and welcome assistance from the prosperous nations, for it is as much their war, as ours." "Let them know that if meaningful and effective help comes forth, we shall enter the 21st century not as recipients of handouts but as confident and self-reliant partners in progress", he added.

Representatives of 32 countries have joined the LDC meeting in Dhaka to discuss their economic problems and formulate a joint strategy and plan of action for the forthcoming UN-sponsored meeting on LDCs in Paris. Out of the 32 countries, 22 are being represented at the ministerial level. Gambian Minister for economic planning Mr MBE Gatta, Foreign Minister of Vanuatu Mr Donald Kalpok and Haitian Minister for Planning and Cooperation Mr Michel Bonet, addressed the inaugural session on behalf of the regional groups.

Foreign Minister Mr Anisul Islam Mahmud, Secretary General of the United Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) Mr Kenneth Dadzie also addressed the inaugural session. A message from the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar was read out at the session by the UNCTAD Secretary General.

Vice President Moudud Ahmed, Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed, ministers, high civil and military officials and diplomats attended the inaugural session.

In his inaugural address, President Ershad pointed out, the LDCs are the virtual frontiersmen and are struggling to conquer the veritable last frontier of mankind—the formidable barrier of poverty, hunger, malnourishment, illiteracy and superstition.

Referring to the plight of the LDCs, the President said that the past ten years what was to have been a decade of development, turned into a decade of despair for the LDCs. The causes, he said, were varied but they, in general, included inadequate resource flows, decline in private investment, depressed commodity prices, difficulties in obtaining access to markets and failures of adjustment programmes to produce results. Such factors operated in combination with "the essential negative characteristics of the LDCs, he noted adding that "these are fundamental, pervasive and structural in nature."

Elaborating on the characteristics of the economies of the LDCs, he mentioned about their extremely low level of income, very limited savings capacity, insufficient and under-utilized resource base, poor technologies, small domestic market lack of socioeconomic infrastructures, and structural rigidities add to these the severe geographical and economic disadvantages of the land locked and island LDCs, he said.

President Ershad termed the United Nations decision to convene a second conference on the LDCs this year as a heartening one. He also expressed gratitude to France, its people and its President Mitterrand. He further expressed the hope that the conference would carry out its mandate. "I understand these would be to assess progress at the country levels, to review international support measures and to adopt appropriate policies and measures of the 1990s and a new plan of action what it should aim at", he said.

He felt that the first ministerial level meeting of the LDCs in Dhaka would be a turning point in evolving "the history of the LDCs". "I sincerely hope that this August assembly would be successful in giving shape and form to the vital message that four hundred millions in LDCs are now unflinching in their resolve to transform their destiny", he said.

The first ministerial meeting of the LDCs, he observed should be able to signal cohesion among them. We have a large and arduous distance to travel to our goal, he added.

BSS adds: In strategy and tactics president Ershad said, preparation was often half the battle. We must adequately gear ourselves to prepare for the event. And Dhaka meeting is part of that process, he said.

The President said, we have organised this at a high level because we sincerely believe that our economic arguments will need to be buttressed by a modicum of political clout and added the LDC ministers should address themselves to the vital issues that would constitute the agenda of the forthcoming press conference.

The President also stressed the need for promoting a consensus on a more fundamental approach to LDC debt, which, he added, should include a decisive reduction of the overall debt stock. He said there must be stabilization of commodity prices and arrangements for compensation for shortfall in export earnings.

He also stressed the need for urgent action to reverse protectionism, exempt the LDCs from quotas and ceilings, and to further simplify and make flexible the rules of origin.

President Ershad felt that the LDCs required some sort of structural arrangements for periodic meetings and exchange of views and suggested that these countries missions at the United Nations could constitute such forum. This would also facilitate consultations at high level during the General Assembly and thereby make the process of monitoring and follow-up of future plan of action easier.

Pointing out that some of the problems faced by the LDCs required more detailed analysis, the President proposed the establishment of a centre for research on LDCs.

Anis Mahmud

Speaking on the occasion, Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud emphasised committed international cooperation for achieving the goal of eradicating poverty in the LDCs on an urgent, lasting and comprehensive basis.

He said, the economic and social conditions of the LDCs as a whole continued to remain critical as none of the major targets of the substantial new programme of action (SNPA) had been achieved satisfactorily.

The SNPA was launched at the United Nations conference on LDCs in Paris in 1981.

Mr Mahmud underlined the need for developing a consensus on a more fundamental approach to the problem of debt of the LDCs.

He said market access was another important field where our development partners can help us the most. In recent years, he said, the LDCs had to face the consequences of a renewed upsurge of protectionism.

The Foreign Minister said, environmental issues had emerged as an area of serious concern and would be of increasing importance for the LDCs in the coming years.

Cuellar

The UN Secretary General Perez De Duellar in his message described the holding of the ministerial level meeting of the least developed countries at the historic city of Dhaka as an important event.

He referred to the specific problems being faced by the LDCs and hoped that the three-day meet at the ministerial level would provide them with an opportunity to review their overall situation and take a common strategy.

Mr Cuellar particularly pointed out the problems of changes in the ecological balance and said the LDC leaders must take the issue seriously and take integrated programme and mutually supported action.

He also stressed the need for international support to the LDCs for protecting their access to the international market and fair price to their export products.

Finally, he hoped that the deliberations of the meeting would help identify additional efforts in coping with the problems of the least developed countries.

Dadzie

The UNCTAD Secretary General, Mr Kenneth Dadzie, in his speech thanked President Ershad and the Government of Bangladesh for hosting the meeting.

He strongly pleaded for combined efforts of the LDCs for protecting their collective interests.

The UNCTAD Chief Executive said the Dhaka meeting of the LDCs would serve as the preparatory meeting of the Paris meet of the LDCs.

He described the achievements in the LDCs in the 1980s as dismal and suggested comprehensive programmes, integrated action and vigorous efforts by the LDCs for brightening the 1990s.

Mr Dadzie underlined the importance of the political will of the Government of least developed countries in overcoming their specific and common problems.

Gambian Minister

The Gambian Minister for Economic Planning, Mr Mbe Mbe Gatta, speaking on behalf of African countries, thanked President Ershad and his Government for hosting the meeting.

He described the three-day meeting of the LDCs as an important occasion and hoped it would help taking concerted national and international efforts in dealing with the problems of the LDCs in the light of the prevailing global economic situation.

The Foreign Minister of Vanuatu, Mr Donald Kalpok speaking on behalf of the Asian countries, also appreciated President Ershad and the Government of Bangladesh for hosting this important meeting. He hoped that the deliberations in the meeting would help formulating an integrated and combined strategy for tackling the common problems in the least developed countries.

Haitian Minister

The Haitian Minister for Planning and Internal Resources Cooperation Mr Michel Bonet, who spoke on behalf of the Latin American countries, recorded deep appreciation to President Ershad and the Government of Bangladesh for hosting the meeting.

He hoped that the deliberations in the meeting would play an important role in protecting the interest of the least developed countries in the forthcoming LDC conference to be held in Paris September next.

Meeting's Conclusion, Declaration

46001316 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 13 Feb 90 pp 1, 10

[Article: "LDCs Call To Write Off \$65 Billion Debt"]

[Text] The three-day Ministerial level meeting of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) concluded in Dhaka on Monday with a call for writing off all debts of the LDCs.

The total debt burden of the LDCs has increased to 65 billion US dollars from 36 billion dollars.

The meeting in a declaration expressed serious concern at the inadequate low of external resources and insufficiency of other support measures and worsening of the external environment for development of LDCs.

The meeting, first ever held at ministerial level, noted with deep concern the exceptional severity with which the external debt crisis has constructed the development efforts in the LDCs.

Participated by 30 countries of which 20 at the Ministerial level, the LDC meeting in its declaration also expressed deep anxiety over the fact that the international community had so far failed to respond adequately to this most serious problem.

The declaration called for attaching priority to poverty alleviation programme in LDCs.

The Dhaka Declaration also called upon the donor countries to Double the Official Development Assistance (ODA) to them and also to increase the resource flow at concessional terms minimising the time lag.

The Dhaka meeting adopted a set of recommendations to be placed in the second UN conference on LDCs in Paris in September this year. The meeting decided to send a mission of four ministers to sensitise the donors community at the highest political level about the needs

and problems of the LDCs. The LDCs ministers also decided to hold regular consultations at United Nations headquarters among the LDCs to monitor their programmes. It was also decided to set up a research centre for monitoring the needs and problems of LDCs.

New Action Plan

The LDC Ministers called for adoption of the Substantial New Programme of Action (SNPA) for the 1990's in the Paris meeting to improve the economic conditions of the world's poorest countries. Of the forty two countries nine are located in Asia, 28 in Africa, one in Latin America and five in Oceania. The total population of the LDCs is 400 million with very low level of per capita income.

Regarding the aid modalities, the Ministers expressed the hope that the UN Second Conference would urge the donors to provide timely assistance to support the efforts for the LDCs to implement the development programmes. Further steps should be taken by donors to provide bilateral ODA [Official Development Assistance] to the LDCs essentially in the form of grants and to provide loans on highly concessional terms. The ODAs loan and grants should be united to the maximum extent. There should be further simplification and standardisation of procurement procedures, it was suggested.

The Ministers identified slow disbursement of aid to LDCs as one of the reasons for longer gestation period in completing the projects. This entails higher costs. The Ministers urged the donors to minimise the time lag between aid commitment and disbursement.

The Dhaka Declaration decided to request the UN conference to stress that to improve the aid absorption by LDCs, the conference should recommend to the donors to further increase their participation in local and recurring cost financing as budgetary constraints that have been frequently experienced in this respect.

Access to Markets

Regarding access to markets, the Dhaka Declaration urged the international community to extend assistance to the LDCs the field of commodity which should include better market transparency, increased market access, reduced trade distortions and other institutional assistance.

In view of the entry into force of the Common Fund for Commodities, the conference may consider urging all concerned to provide specific assistance to the LDCs for the identification and elaboration of projects which can be financed through the second Account.

The Ministers emphasized that the developed countries should take urgent steps to ensure significantly improved market access for products originating from LDCs. In this regard, they strongly stressed that a wide scope exists for further improvement of the GSP schemes whose impact on LDCs exports has so far been minimal. They

demand duty-free treatment of their exports, exemption from quotas and ceiling and use of simplified and flexible rules of origin.

The least developed countries hoped that the donors would implement the 0.15 percent of donors GNP [gross national product] to LDCs during the 1990s. The target was set in 1981 Paris meeting which could not be achieved. The achievement during the 1980's was only 0.09 percent and the aggregate growth was 2.3 percent against the target of 7.2 percent. The population growth was 2.6 percent. The export earning fell by 0.4 percent during this period. The debt burden increased to 65 billion dollars from 36 billion dollars, the terms of trade worsened at the rate of 2.6 percent annum.

Commodity Loan Agreement Signed With Japan

46001313 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 9 Feb 90 pp 1, 10

[Article: "Japan To Give Commodity Loan of Tk 219 Crore"]

[Text] Japan will provide Bangladesh Tk 219.5 crore commodity loan according to an exchange of notes signed at Dhaka on Thursday between the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Mr Tetsuo Ito, Charge d'Affaires of Japan and Mr Ayub Quadri, Joint Secretary, External Resources Division of the Ministry of Planning signed the notes on behalf of their respective governments.

Japan is the biggest donor of Bangladesh and the total amount of Japanese loan since liberation is slightly over US dollars 4 billion. The annual loan of Japan to Bangladesh is about 500 million dollars. Of the total loan received from Japan, a substantial amount was later converted into grant, says a Japanese spokesman. He said that the budding democracies in Eastern Europe would not affect Japanese aid quantum to Bangladesh.

It may be recalled here that the annual US aid to Dhaka is about US dollars 170 million while that of World Bank and IDA US dollars 500 million.

The loan agreement signed on Thursday will be utilised for procurement of commodities like chemicals, cement, iron and steel, machinery and spareparts. This commodity loan is generally untied loan, Japanese spokesman said.

The loan received from Japan is mostly soft loan. The loan agreement signed on Thursday is repayable in 30 years including a grace period of ten years with interest of one percent per annum. The disbursement period of the loan is two years from the date of signing of the agreement between the Government of Bangladesh and the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF).

INDIA

Reports Showing Pakistan Plotting in Kashmir Cited

Zia 'Liberation' Plan

46001305 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 17 Feb 90 p 20

[Text] Islamabad, Feb. 16 (PTI). The former Pakistani president, Gen Zia Ul Haq, had hatched a diabolical three-phased conspiracy for the "liberation" of Kashmir valley through political subversion, chaos and terror, some Urdu newspapers in Pakistan have reported.

Although there is no official confirmation on the veracity of reports which have carried contents of the purported speech of the late president, observers here do not rule out the possibility of a sinister design behind the whole operation.

A foreign office spokesman told a Pakistani journalist on Thursday that he was not aware of it. "I will have to look at these reports (before making any comments)," he said.

Gen Zia, who was killed in a Pakistan air force crash on August 17, 1988, spelt out the details of the operation, code-named "Op Topac," at a high-level meeting in his residential office in April 1988.

The secret operation was named after Topac Amru, an Inca prince, who fought an unconventional war against Spanish rule in 18th-century Uruguay.

The martial law dictator's speech speaks of assistance to "our Kashmiri brethren in getting hold of the power apparatus of the state by political subversion and intrigue."

He outlines schemes to snap communication lines between Jammu and Kashmir and within Kashmir and Ladakh, destroying base depots at Srinagar and other places and also putting out action air fields and radio stations located at critical points.

The entire operation was apparently intended to be carried out in the latter half of 1988 under the supervision of the powerful inter-services intelligence (ISI).

After going through the general's plan, a political observer speaking strictly on condition of anonymity, remarked cautiously, "if we put two plus two together, a new dimension emerges."

India has been accusing Pakistan of aiding and abetting militants in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab, a charge which Islamabad has stoutly denied.

An analyst on Pakistani affairs said he would not be surprised if the ISI continued to carry on with Gen Zia's scheme on Kashmir despite constraints imposed on it by the Bhutto government.

The prime minister, Ms Benazir Bhutto removed Lt Gen. Hamid Gul as head of the ISI on May 24, last year.

But a senior journalist however said that the whole scheme appears to be "cooked up" and "far-fetched." He said Ms Bhutto had virtually clipped the wings of the ISI after shifting Lt Gen Gul.

The analyst's conjecture that perhaps the ISI was waiting for the Najibullah government's ouster and the return of Afghan refugees before putting the plan into "full fear" in Kashmir was brushed aside by the journalist as "sophomoric."

The main portion of Gen Zia's purported speech reads "Gentlemen, I have spoken on this subject at length before, therefore, I will leave out the details, as you know, due to our pre-occupation in Afghanistan. In the service of Islam, I have not been able to put these plans before you earlier.

"Let there be no mistake, however, that our aim remains quite clear and firm—the liberation of the Kashmir valleys. Our Muslim brothers cannot be allowed to stay with India for any length of time, now...."

"Here we must adopt those methods of combat which the Kashmiri mind can grasp and cope with—in other words. A co-ordinated use of moral and physical means, other than military operations, which will destroy the will of the enemy, damage his political capacity and expose him to the world as an oppressor. This aim, gentlemen, shall be achieved in the initial phases.

Indian 'Black Book'

46001305 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH*
in English 13 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 12: India once again warned Pakistan of the dangers of inciting the people and inflaming passions leading to such rash actions as the attempted border intrusions which took place in the Uri sector yesterday.

The Pakistani high commissioner, Mr Bashir Babar, was summoned to the foreign office just before midnight yesterday and again this morning to convey the Indian government's concern over the provocative actions. This morning the high commissioner was given "detailed, documentary evidence" of Pakistani interference in both Jammu and Kashmir as well as Punjab. Some portions of the testimonial evidence was later released to newsmen this evening.

The evidence put together in what has come to be known as Indians "black book" consisted of photographs, maps, intelligence interrogations and some captured documents. The documentation covers the involvement of Pakistan in terrorist activities in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir from May 1988 to December 1989. The dossier documents the interrogation of extremists showing Pakistani involvement, admissions by terrorists who have

received arms and other training in camps across the border, and visits to Pakistan by terrorists.

The foreign secretary, Mr S.K. Singh, informed the Pakistani high commissioner of the seriousness with which this pattern of incitement followed by rash and dangerous activities on the border is viewed by India. The high commissioner was informed that this could serve no purpose and ever since the foreign minister Sahebzada Yaqub Khan had visited New Delhi in January, India had been cautioning Pakistan about the dangers inherent in inciting people and inflaming passions.

The provocative action which took place yesterday in the Uri sector was yet another example of the ease with which passions could be inflamed and the difficulty faced in quenching the passions. The foreign secretary also drew Mr Babar's attention to exaggerated reports of such incidents which appeared in Pakistani newspapers.

The high commissioner's attention was drawn to the "regrettable proclivity to exaggerate which we have observed in reports emanating from Pakistan and also the strong element of inaccuracy in such reports," the spokesman of the external affairs ministry said. The foreign secretary impressed upon Mr Babar India's deep concern at the continuing attempts to cross the border and reminded the Pakistani authorities of India's oft-repeated urging to adhere to the path of peace as enshrined in the Simla agreement.

The foreign secretary summoned the high commissioner again this morning at 11 am, and evidence of Pakistani interference was handed over to him.

Similar evidence had been handed over to Pakistan during the home secretaries' meeting in May 1988, another document had been given in 1989, but the updated dossier, a black book of facts was made available to senior officials of the US state department and also the Congressman, Mr Stephen Solarz, chairman of the sub-committee on South Asia.

Among the evidence provided today was a map showing 46 training camps for JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] extremists in Pakistan as well as in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. The evidence provided detailed and datewise information on when these camps were operative. Among the types of training provided at these camps was handling of explosives, use of remote-controlled devices and dismantling and cannibalisation of weapons.

According to the documents, JKLF leaders were provided all kinds of facilities, including weapons support, training and tactical guidance for terrorist activities. Frequent meetings had been organised between the leaders of the JKLF based in Pakistani territory and JKLF extremists based in Kashmir.

Among the arms recovered in Punjab in the last year were 28 rocket launchers, 229 rockets and missiles, about one kg of explosive material and 276 AK-47 rifles.

Names in Dossier

46001305 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH
in English 13 Feb 90 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 12: The "black book" which was handed over this morning to the Pakistani high commissioner, Mr Bashir Babar, contains evidence of the active role played by former Panthic Committee member Gurbachan Singh Monachahal in supplying arms to terrorists in Punjab with the connivance of Pakistani authorities.

The dossier shows the involvement of Pakistan as revealed in the interrogation of extremists from Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. linkages established through documents recovered from them and in the Golden Temple Complex. The evidence includes photographs of Sikh terrorists undergoing training in Pakistan in places like Derasahib gurdwara and Darra Adamkhel. Maps indicate the location of training camps in Pakistani territory.

Sher Mohd alias Sher Khan of Rattal Basali, Rajouri PS, a prominent JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] guide operating from Srinagar to Rawalpindi, was arrested on August 10, 1989. Sensitive Army documents recovered from him indicate the linkage of Pakistani intelligence agencies with JKLF operations. In June 1989, Sher Mohd escorted a group of nine Kashmiri boys from Srinagar to Rawalpindi and later guided five of them back after a month of training in Pakistan.

Abdul Rashid Jatal alias Manzoor of Kohna Cabra Karnah, Kupwara, arrested on August 29, 1989, was a JKLF guide and a Pakistani foreign intelligence unit agent since 1984. During interrogation he disclosed that he started working as a JKLF guide in July 1988. He was given arms training near Rawalpindi in late 1988 and visited the Afghanistan border to obtain arms. He trained with the Afghan Mujahideen there and was conferred the rank of a "captain."

Abdul Jatal confessed that he had been involved in several armed attacks. He also admitted that he had escorted 29 youths for arms training in Pakistan and had ferried large quantities of arms and ammunition across the border. three AK-47 rifles, three revolvers and explosives were recovered through information provided by him to the police.

Among the extremists arrested in December 1989 was Mohd Akram alias Bashir of Dhundhuk, Surankot Poonch. He was on his way to Pakistan when he was arrested. He had in his possession a letter addressed to a Maj. Assad of the Pakistan Inter-services Intelligence (ISI) and photographs of seven important militants in Kashmir in order to establish his bonafides with the Pakistani officials. The letter had been given to him by Mohd Altaf Khan alias Azam Inquilabi, who headed Operation Balakote.

Among the documents recovered from Sikh terrorists were two letters written by Gurbachan Singh Manochahal, member of the old Panthic Committee, dated January 1989. They were carried by Mohinder Singh Monochahal, killed in an encounter on March 10, 1989, near Behla village in Tara Taran. One letter refers to the active role of Gurbachan Singh in sending arms and ammunition to terrorists in Punjab with the connivance of Pakistani authorities. The other letter gives a clear picture of his regular contacts with terrorists, and shows his concern over loss of consignments of arms and ammunition.

In a letter recovered after an encounter with an unidentified border crosser in April 1989 in the Khemkaran area, Sukhwinder Singh Sangha had asked for more small arms and ammunition as his stock was totally exhausted. The letter was addressed to Gurbachan Singh Manochahal and Wassan Singh Zaffarwal, member of the Panthic Committee.

Zaffarwal, who is camping in Pakistan, made an appeal to "Singhs" (terrorists) to cross over to Pakistan to bring back huge stocks of sophisticated weaponry. He urged them to explore new routes to cross over to Pakistan and gave specific instructions for distribution of printed leaflets in Punjab warning Taksalis and Akalis who might try to contest Assembly elections in the state. The letter recovered in an encounter on August 26, 1989 was addressed to Gurjant Singh Rajasthani.

Mohinder Singh of village Sandhu Chatha, arrested in August 1988, disclosed that he had infiltrated into Pakistan with six other Babbar Khalsa activists from Ganganagar district. He spent three months in Pakistan staying in a safe house in Lahore together with two hardcore Babbar Khalsa activists. When he returned to Punjab he was told to collect eight AK-47 rifles and 11 kg of explosive materiel from a person named Gurnam Singh.

Consumer Rights, Responsibilities Discussed

46240003 Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES
in Hindi 11 Mar 90 p 5

[Text] It is evident that we are all essentially consumers, whether we are eating and drinking, or purchasing things, or availing ourselves of any public service or materials, or buying medicines, fans, refrigerators, or cars.

It is said that a consumer comes first, and his complaints should be heard and appeased in a fair manner. But what is evidenced generally in society? We see that often the producer, shopkeeper, trader, and commercial people supply bad and adulterated things and cheat the buyers. In addition, they grossly misbehave by not answering the questions of buyers, by delaying, selling low quality items, mixing inedible substances in food items, adulterating to the extent of endangering the very lives of consumers, hoarding, dealing in black markets, increasing prices, in short using all possible dirty tricks against the consumer.

We are ourselves responsible for these conditions. People are generally lazy and indifferent. In spite of being educated, they have come to feel that even complaining does not get them anywhere. This is a very wrong attitude which can be changed only by citizen involvement and cooperation. This is not only their responsibility but also their duty. Sometimes an answer to your question can be elicited by just sending a letter to a newspaper.

To protect the buyers, the central government has instituted the Consumer Protection Regulations and the Supreme Court has instructed all state governments to make it effective as of November 1989. We are now in 1990 and still it seems as if no special steps have been taken in this direction.

In order to awaken public awareness of consumer rights protection, 15-21 March is designated Buyers' Week every year all over the world; during this week, efforts are made to awaken the public awareness and find ways to address consumer complaints.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the government or the courts can only give direction and light the way, but it is for us to take the necessary actions by which to protect our rights as consumers. We ourselves will have to be alert to our rights as consumers as this forms the very foundation of democracy.

With that aim in mind, to bring this into practice many volunteer institutions and organizations have sprouted in many cities, but this has not yet happened in the rural areas and small villages.

These sorts of organizations should be set up nationwide. For consumer education, small booklets like 'The Guide to Consumer Complaints', 'Household Safety', monthly publications like 'Prices', sections from weekly newspapers devoted to consumer complaints, reconciliation, and suggestions, small tests and tools to check adulteration, video films, etc. are available. Arrangement can be made for visual programs and presentations such as lectures and street corner plays etc., under the auspices of womens' organizations, block, and youth groups in schools and colleges.

While fighting for our rights, we must keep in mind that we have some responsibilities as well. The International Consumers' Organization has given enough rights to the buyers, such as rights to education, notification, accumulation, fair price, protection, cleanliness, quality, accuracy in measures, rectification of harm, reimbursement for spoiled items, etc.

On the other hand, we have our responsibilities also. We should not make false claims; the shopkeeper should not be hassled without a genuine cause. We should show concern for others by not contributing to noise, air, or water pollution, something which the operators of motorized vehicles and factories do. Decency requires that we fulfill our obligations as consumers.

IRAN

Mrs Behruzi Talks About Trip, Problems With Election Results

90010195A Tehran RESALAT
in Persian 21 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Mrs. Maryam Behruzi about her trip to Pakistan and the Tehran Elections]

[Text] Sports News:

Mrs. Maryam Behruzi, the Tehran representative in the Islamic Consultative Majles, described the outcome of her trip to Pakistan in a special interview with our reporter. In the same interview, she also talked about the mistake made in the announcement of the results of the mid-term elections in Tehran. We invite your attention to this interview.

[RESALAT] You had a trip to Pakistan recently. Tell us, what was the purpose of the trip.

[Behruzi] I traveled to Pakistan at the invitation of the Imamieh Organization of Pakistan which is a very strong religious, revolutionary, and political organization.

She added: In my first presentation, which was received very well at the large gathering of people of Karachi, my talk was entitled "The Rights of Women in Islam and in the Islamic Republic Order." I also had some meetings in Karachi which were conducted in a question-and-answer format. Most of the questions were about the subject of velayat-e faqih [rule by religious jurisconsult] and the Islamic government and the new leadership. I used portions of the sermon by Her Holiness Zahra in my discussion about the subject of rule by religious jurisconsult and Imamah [mission of an imam, leadership].

[RESALAT] What is the state of our propaganda in Pakistan? Are you satisfied?

[Behruzi] Unfortunately our propaganda is not a match for the eagerness shown by the Moslems there considering the vast opportunities that we have over there and the indescribable eagerness shown by the Moslems. The people of Pakistan are very interested in discussing the subject of rule by religious jurisconsult and Imamah. I can even say they have an ardent desire for such discussions.

[RESALAT] What were the topics of the questions you were asked?

[Behruzi] I had more than 10 interviews with newspapers in Karachi. Generally questions were about the women's issues in Iran, the position of women before and after the revolution, the five-year plan, and the programs of Hujjat ol-Eslam-e val Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani's government. There were also questions about rule by religious jurisconsult and the Islamic government. I answered each question appropriately.

[RESALAT] How was the reception in other cities?

[Behruzi] Reception was very good in Lahor and some other cities we visited. The people madly love the Imam and express interest and friendship for the great leadership of His Excellency Ayatollah Khamene'i, to the extent that I did not feel that I am in a foreign country.

One of the representatives of the Pakistani Parliament told me: The people of Pakistan are good people and have intense interest in Islam, but they don't have a leader. He said that unfortunately they don't have good Ulema [learned religious authorities] like in Iran. They desire to have more accurate information about our revolution after the death of the Imam, may God hallow his soul. In a gathering of the representatives of the people of Pakistan, I had a discussion about the present state of the revolution and the leadership of Ayatollah Khamene'i.

An interesting feature of the gatherings and presentations over there was that usually in the middle or at the end of a presentation someone would shout "Cry up: O Ali" and everybody would shout "O Ali," or would shout "Cry up: O Hoseyn" and everybody would shout "O Hoseyn, O Hoseyn," or "Cry up: Salavat [praise and greeting to God, Mohammad, and His descendants]" and everybody would utter Salavat. I suggested that they should add one more cry and say "Cry up: O leader" and at the end of the meetings someone would shout "Cry up: O leader" and everybody would shout: "Khamene'i, Khamene'i." I hope, God willing, this cry will always stay among the people of Pakistan because they welcomed it very much.

[RESALAT] Apparently you had traveled to Pakistan a few years ago too. In your estimation, during the past few years, what changes have taken place in Pakistan with regard to their tendency toward Islamic revolution?

[Behruzi] Fortunately one can see a deep and sincere attachment to the Islamic revolution among the people of Pakistan and some of their leaders. I believe that the people of Pakistan have been noticeably transformed and every day they are getting closer to the goals and ideals of the Imam and the Islamic revolution. The types of questions they asked were an indication that they were interested to learn more about Islam and Iran.

[RESALAT] You are now a member of Majles. The question people ask is that why wasn't your name among those who were announced first to have won a majority of the votes by the Ministry of Interior and the governor's office in Tehran.

[Behruzi] Apparently there were a lot of complaints from the people and also from the Council of Guardians about the ballot boxes after the first announcement of the results. In my case, as I was informed, they only added the number of votes from the boxes once more and it became clear that I had won 1,000 more votes, and as a result I became a member of Majles. I don't know whether this was the result of a mistake or some other

problem. In any case, I did not file a complaint. As for the votes I had won, they did not count the votes in any box again, but they discovered the problem after adding the numbers from all the boxes once more.

I hope that the Council of Guardians and the Ministry of Interior will be careful so that such mistakes could not occur again. I find it necessary at this point to thank the [election] supervisory council for protecting the people's vote which had been entrusted to them. I also thank our very good people who were kind to have confidence in me so that I represent them once again and accept the heavy responsibility of being a representative.

I certainly ask the judicial branch to investigate this problem, not for my sake, but to protect the people's rights so that at least if there were some who committed violations they will not influence the next round of elections because I heard that apparently 70 boxes have been voided despite the fact that they had no effect on the outcome of the election. In any case, those whose violations led to the voiding of 70 boxes must be questioned, if they had ill intentions.

PAKISTAN

Correspondent on Indian Muslims' Views on Kashmir

90010200A Karachi JANG in Urdu 12 Feb 90 p 3

[Report by Sayyed Abdul Wahid: "Interference in Pakistan's Internal Affairs"]

[Text] Indian Muslims have expressed great sorrow at the recent bloodshed in Karachi and Sindh. Prominent persons like Lok Sabha members Rashid Massud, Samad Saddiqi, and Jaffar Sharief; former minister Nazir Ahmed Saddiqi; former Aligarh University Vice Chancellor Professor Ali Mohammed Khusro; Javed Jaib, editor of HAJOOM; Mohammad Adib, former president of Aligarh University Students Union; Fazal Alberi; Rashid Saddiqi; and Urfan Allah expressed regret that people who left India for Pakistan 42 years ago are still being discriminated against and are being persecuted. In their statement, they appealed to the Pakistani people, instead of being silent spectators, to raise their voice against these murders and bloodshed. Condemning the situation in Karachi and several other cities, they warned that if this game of playing with human lives was not stopped then the security of Pakistan's population would be in danger. The Government of Pakistan was told to rectify this dangerous situation in order to help the people and maintain peace on the subcontinent.

Royal Imam Abdullah Bukhari recently in an interview told JANG's correspondent that God should take pity on the people of Pakistan, and had said that [Pakistan] could not help Kashmiris and that it should try to alleviate the situation at home first. He had added that Indian Muslim stopped looking toward Pakistan a long time ago. A Hindu reporter tried to ask a foreign

ministry spokesman about the violence in Karachi while he was briefing newsmen. Our foreign ministry spokesman ignored the question.

In the demonstrations held daily in front of Pakistan's high commission office in New Delhi, the most prominent placard reads, "First clean up the situation in your home, then talk about Kashmir."

Discussions with politicians and journalists over the Sindh situation are common at the JANG office. Indian politicians and journalists state, "You are not honest over the Kashmir issue. How can you help other people when you are fighting among yourselves? You should give up the idea of fighting with India. Instead, you should try to control the strife within your own country."

Mr. Lal Karishan Advani, president of India's Janata Party, told JANG's correspondent, "Before asking for an investigation into Kashmir, did you ever think how Pakistan would feel if we demanded an inquiry into the situation in Sindh, Sarhad, and Baluchistan? Have you forgotten the days when they used to raise the slogan 'long live Indira Gandhi' in Sindh?" Other political leaders asked JANG's correspondent, "What would we do if the people in Sindh asked India for help?" These politicians believe that the Pakistani Government is trying to direct the people's attention toward the Kashmir problem so that they ignore the situation at home.

Mr. Bashir Khan Babar, Pakistan's high commissioner, said that, "My associates and I have to lower our heads in embarrassment and shame whenever shots are fired in Karachi. I lose the courage to talk with Indian leaders. Even common Indian Muslims asks me what has gone wrong with Pakistanis. Have they forgotten the horrible truth that over one million Muslims had sacrificed their lives to give birth to this country? This 'shelter' was obtained after a million women sacrificed their chastity and honor. Hundreds of thousands of Muslim in India have suffered since 1947 because of their efforts to establish Pakistan. Now they are being threatened that if Pakistan did not stop interfering in Kashmir, the 200 million Muslims in India would be thrown across the border. Those Muslims ask, 'Is it the Pakistan of our dreams?'"

The concern of Indian Muslims is understandable to an extent. However, this is giving India an excuse to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs. Our readers must have caught some of the interviews and statements given by Indian leaders in which they hint about the demand for interfering with the situation in Sindh. The Indian government's propaganda about Pakistan's interference in Kashmir and East Punjab is still going on. Inder Kumar Gujral, India's foreign minister, spends all his time crying about this issue with any foreign dignitary visiting India. In their trips abroad, especially to the USSR, the United States, and Islamic countries, Foreign Ministry officials give the impression that Kashmir's struggle for independence was the result of Pakistan's

provocation. According to some observers, India is using this situation to strengthen its case for invading Azad Kashmir. It is getting good excuses to make this case even stronger. The Pakistani demonstrators' crossing the international border in Jammu sector was a boon for India. Indian newspapers and television made a big deal out of it and assured the U.S. officials that these incidents were not accidental, but part of strategic plan. The Indian Foreign Ministry emphasized the fact that Sahabzada Yaqub was told that Pakistanis can risk crossing the international border. They also referred to the statements issued by Sardar Abdulquom and Iman Allah in which they had announced plans to enter Kashmir with a group of 10,000 people. The Indian public and foreign embassies were given the impression that Pakistan was sending its commando and ranger forces in the guise of civilian demonstrators. A review of the attitude and strategy of the Indian leadership over the past 42 years clearly indicates that India always wanted to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs. Its efforts were first successful in 1971, when they succeeded in making Bangladesh out of East Pakistan. Their excuse for this transgress was the refugees entering into India from East Pakistan. Even now, factionalists and extremists in India are still threatening to make another Bangladesh (Sindhudesh) in Pakistan, if Pakistan did not stop helping Kashmiris.

All political parties in India have made the Babri Masjid/Ram Janambhumi the election issue in eight state legislative assembly elections, to be held on 27 February. The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] could not get a better manifesto than this problem. Even Rajiv Gandhi's Congress party is very vocal about these two problems. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said that Pakistan was taking a strong stand on the Kashmir issue because it has a weak federal government. It seems to be very easy to get votes by instigating anti-Pakistan feelings. The former prime minister is asking the present government to "teach Pakistan a lesson" and crush the Kashmir struggle by force. The BJP has asked the Indian government to demand from Pakistan's government the closure of the camps for training terrorists established on the borders adjoining Punjab and Kashmir. If the Pakistani government refuses to comply, the Indian government should forcibly destroy these imaginary camps. The leader of this party proposed to JANG's correspondent the idea of an Indo-Pakistani confederation. The confederation proposal is not new. The late Mr. Ram Manohar Lohia discussed this 40 years ago. The new government claims that it is not under pressure from its ally, the BJP. However, Prime Minister V.P. Singh's threat to Pakistan over the Kashmir issue indicates that there is some pressure.

The appointment of the notorious Jagmohan as the governor of Kashmir is the result of this pressure. Mr. V.P. Singh met with three delegations of Muslims last week. The first meeting was with Shahi Imam Abdullah Bukhari who expressed anger at Jagmohan's appointment. Imam Bukhari told the prime minister

about the fear and anger the people were feeling over the Babri Masjid issue. Political leaders, Parliament Members, and editors of newspapers and magazines were present in the other two meetings. All of them reminded Mr. V.P. Singh that they had voted for the Janata Dal because of his promises for a secular government and fair treatment of the minorities. These leaders said that the problems of the minorities, especially the Muslims, had not changed two months after the elections. They were not getting employment, their religious identity was in danger of obliteration, the fear of Civil Code was rampant. Their worries were increasing because of the Babri Masjid issue, they were being threatened to be thrown across the border over the Kashmir issue, they were still asking for representation in municipal, social agencies, legislative councils, and ministries, and now Jagmohan, the enemy of all Muslims was sent to Kashmir as the chief minister. According to the information received from occupied Kashmir, more than 900 freedom fighters were killed, every home was being searched, and anyone objecting to these searches were shot on the spot. Kashmiri Muslims are starving. They have to bribe officials even for an office boy's position. Industrial production has come to a stop and the tourist business was suffering badly because of violence. Tourism is the major source of revenue in Kashmir. The saffron crop is also suffering and the ruddiness of the Kashmiri apple is paling. The Muslim leaders asked Mr. V.P. Singh why wasn't the central government willing to talk to the freedom fighters in Kashmir over the future of the state, while it openly talked to them when trying to free Ru-aiya, the abducted daughter of the central minister, Mufti Mohammad Sayyed. These leaders also reminded Mr. Singh that the former Indian government had negotiated with Mizoram and Gurkha rebels in Assam and had given the government of those areas to the rebels. They asked why doesn't the present Kashmir government follow the same principle. According to our sources, some leaders and journalists offered their services for negotiations with Pakistan during these meetings. These leaders, however, later admitted that they did not know who they would talk to in Pakistan. Should they talk to Benazir Bhutto, or President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, or Mr. Nawaz Sharif, or Iltaf Hussain? One person advised them to talk with General Aslam Beg since he was the most important person in Pakistan!

The JANG begs its compatriots not to give any opportunity to the enemy so that it begins to consider Pakistan weak and a prey of strife. There should be stable leadership in Pakistan. Pakistan is God's greatest gift to us, and the Pakistanis living abroad are more aware of this gift. Where will all of us go if something happens to Pakistan? God helps a nation that has the great desire to help itself. Anti-Islamic forces are at our door. Their satanic plan can be defeated only by the strength resulting from unity and the Grace of God. May God help us all! Amen!

Commentaries View U.S. Reaction to Nuclear Plant Deal

'Reality' of U.S. Friendship

90OI0216A Karachi JANG in Urdu 24 Feb 90 p 3

[Editorial: "U.S. Reaction to Nuclear Plant Deal"]

[Text] The U.S. reaction to the French agreement to sell a 900 megawatt nuclear plant was not wholly unexpected, but it did once again expose the U.S. inclination to deprive Pakistan of modern technology. The United States obviously wants to keep Pakistan weak under the guise of friendship. The United States feels that France did not impose appropriate restrictions on Pakistan in this deal. All France asked in this deal was that Pakistan submit to international inspection of this nuclear plant. Pakistan has accepted this demand as it badly wanted to buy this plant to overcome the dire shortage of energy and for industrial and agricultural development. Pakistan accepted this condition since it has a clear conscience and uses its atomic program for peaceful purposes only. This has been certified by the experts of international agencies after their visit to various Pakistani nuclear plants.

The U.S. State Department wanted France to require Pakistan to open up all its nuclear installations for international inspection. This would have helped implement the great U.S. goal to stop South Asia from making nuclear weapons. It is strange that Pakistan's neighbor, India, exploded an atomic bomb in 1974 and is busy making nuclear weapons as affirmed by international agencies, Israel has also made atomic bomb under U.S. supervision, and South Africa, which has the U.S. and other Western countries' support for its policies, has also become a nuclear power. The United States never thought it necessary to require these countries to have international inspections. It never complained about their nuclear preparations, either. Canada, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Israel have helped openly to make India a nuclear power. In addition to this, the United States, India, and other enemies of Pakistan have been complaining about the Kahuta Atomic Plant, which was installed by Pakistan's own engineers, scientists, and other experts. The United States and its associates do not want an Islamic country to end their monopoly in the nuclear area. This would make the nuclear capability available to other Islamic countries. We believe that the stand taken by our government spokesmen that Pakistan would not accept any pressure on this issue is perfectly correct. Pakistan is not worried about the Indian reaction either. The U.S. reaction is an attack on French autonomy. France had canceled the atomic reprocessing plant deal with Pakistan under U.S. pressure in 1976. The situation, however, is very different now. President Mitterand, the world-renowned statesman, is leading France now. The Government of Pakistan should not be apologetic, and should complete the deal with France immediately. We are requesting various opposition

groups within the country to please support our government on this issue to cancel the U.S. reaction. This is not a political issue; it is the question of our nation's progress, safety, security, and pride. The United States had reacted similarly when Pakistan had agreed to buy a 300 megawatt nuclear plant from China last year. Our agreement with France has shown how friendly and supportive the United States is towards Pakistan! Our government and all political groups should use this as a yardstick to measure U.S. support and friendship for Pakistan. This would help us know friend from foe in the future.

U.S. Criticism Rebutted

90OI0216B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT
in Urdu 24 Feb 90 p 3

[Editorial: "U.S. Objections"]

[Text] The United States has strongly criticized the French agreement to supply Pakistan with a nuclear power plant. The United States objected that France has not included all the conditions required by the International Atomic Energy Commission in the agreement. This would have required Pakistan to open all its nuclear installations for inspection. The only condition France has is that Pakistan would keep the installations sold by France open for such inspections. The United States said that this would seriously jeopardize its efforts to restrict nuclear weapons in South Asia. The U.S. reaction was not unexpected. It had played an important role in the cancellation of the French reprocessing plant deal. The United States and other nuclear powers have established a kind of monopoly over nuclear technology and they do not want anyone outside of the Atomic Club to enter this arena. The worst part of this story is that there has been only one destructive use of the atomic bomb. This was done by the United States and not by an "irresponsible" Third World country. The United States has double standards. It does not oppose as strongly India, Israel, South Africa, or any non-Muslim country as it does oppose Pakistan, Iraq, Libya, or an Islamic country. The Iraqi nuclear installations were destroyed with the help of roguish Israeli Air Force. Israel and the United States have used its armed forces repeatedly to "teach a lesson" to Libya. India and Israel made many plans with the U.S. support against Pakistan. However, by the Grace of God and our alertness, the Kahuta Center is still safe. What is more, Pakistan is buying a nuclear power plant and not a reprocessing plant from France. The whole world knows how scarce energy is in Pakistan. We have been living with load shedding for many years. This energy crisis is hurting Pakistan's industry, trade, and agriculture. This is also causing havoc in our urban areas. Pakistan, of course, is capable of producing hydroelectricity. However, because of our government's support for some states, wrong planning, and internal strife, the 3,600 megawatt Kalabagh Dam project could not get off the ground even after 25 years. It should not have been very difficult to satisfy all the states during the last 25 or 30 years. There just were no efforts and this plan fell prey

to evil intentions and WAPDA's [Water and Power Development Authority] inefficiency and laziness. No other plan to produce electric power was made due to the disputes over this plan. National strife and political confrontation have been the major hurdle in its path. Thus, Pakistan has no alternative but to use the thermal or the nuclear power route. There are possibilities to produce electricity with coal, but Sardar Farooq Laghari, minister for power and water supply in the new democratic government, has decided that thermal power is the most expensive alternative since it will depend on oil imports and its fluctuating price. Nuclear power is the only answer left for the world to meet its energy needs. Whenever Pakistan started negotiations with any country on this issue, our "best supporter, friend, and benefactor," the United States, always stopped it. Now that Mitterand, the French president, recognizing Pakistan's needs has consented to supply a 900 megawatt nuclear power reactor, the United States is demonstrating its "friendship" again. President Mitterand should be praised for ignoring the U.S. objection. The Government of Pakistan has also shown courage by announcing that it would not accept the U.S. pressure. Pakistan has openly called the U.S. pressure unreasonable and inappropriate. Pakistan's stand is based on facts and truth. As a country it has the right to look for resources necessary to meet its needs. The United States has never liked Pakistan. It declared it an important cornerstone of its foreign policy because of the Afghanistan crisis. The United States and its people become our enemies when it comes to providing light to the people or protecting the factories from load shedding. The United States likes to boast about its friendship with Pakistan. The Pakistani people should wonder, "if you are our friend, then the sky will be our enemy!"

Commentary: Punjab 'Rebelling' Against Lawlessness

90010203A Karachi JANG in Urdu 12 Feb 90 p 3

[Column: "Navishta-e Deevan" ('Writing on the Wall') by Nafees Siddiqi]

[Text] Until now, IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad—Islamic Democratic Alliance] claimed that its real source of strength was the Punjab because it won a victory in the provincial assembly, and then in the run-off elections in Punjab, and because the chief minister of Punjab defeated the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. IJI talks about this victory to prove the truth of one more claim. And that is that IJI is a political organization. However in Punjab, in cities like Cheevant, Gujranwalla, Farooq Abad, Mughal Pura, Faiz Bagh (Lahore), Kot Radha Krishan, Gujra, and Mor Khanda the people's rebellions against the police prove the truth of IJI's claims. If the protest processions in those Punjabi regions and the confrontations of the police with the people were investigated, then it can be proven that Punjab is not the source of the IJI's political strength, but that IJI is the name of the administration and its nonpolitical participants which was organized by General Ziaul Haq, which

was limited only to the middle class, and which does not include 80 percent of the population which consists of the lower class of people. During the last month, eight rebellions of the poor class of people in the Punjab were reported. The rebellion of Faisal Abad is six months old. It shook the whole of Faisal Abad and the Punjab government had to impose a curfew. All the other rebellions took place in smaller towns or in smaller towns of big regions. The interesting thing is that IJI, which is not a political organization but an administrative unit which has come into being with the votes of a special segment of the middle class with the help of the police, frequently takes up the position that since the protest of the people is limited to small towns it should not be given any importance. But this is a philosophical as well as a scientific principle. When the condition of a component, compared with the other components, rises above the others, then this component becomes like the opening of a volcano which has spread all over the body. In medical terminology, it means the expression of some infection which has spread throughout the body and may appear in the form of an abscess in some other part of the body. But in the body of Punjab, there are eight separate abscesses spread all over the body, which have burst open, which proves that the body politic of Punjab is aching with pain and hatred because of the troubles facing the people, and the pain is bound to spread to other cities in the province if not today, then definitely tomorrow.

Nawaz Sharif, the chief minister of Punjab, has alleged that these rebellions are incited by 24 members of the PPP. By itself, this allegation proves that neither the voters nor the IJI's officials and followers were involved in these rebellions, but that large numbers of the people hate cruelty and being exploited. Zulfikar 'Ali, the martyr, had upheld the right of such downtrodden people. The supporters of martial law always accused him of terrorism. And now the way Chief Minister Nawaz Sharif accuses the PPP of terrorism, without any proof, shows that just as the people hated martial law, the people of Punjab hate IJI.

Considering the real cause of the Punjabi people's rebellion against IJI in the above mentioned cities shows that dacoits, drug traffickers, unlicensed dealers of arms, and other criminals have set up bases in these cities on a large scale, which threatens the honor and lives of the people in the small cities. These criminals, together with the habitual criminals, perpetuate catastrophic incidents. For example, the drug traffickers and smugglers have already built big bases in Mughal Pura. And in Faisal Abad, especially near the goods transport centers, dealers of kalashnikov rifles, heroin, and alcohol have already built centers. Similarly, the incidents of dacoity, plunder, and rape are also taking place in the above mentioned cities on an organized basis. Examples of such activities will soon be seen in Multan, Sahiwal, Mianwali, Sargodha, Sialkot, and Bahawalpur, and the people of the cities too will openly revolt. Criminals have already started operating in these cities, just like commercial

concerns they carry on business in their offices. The workers of these criminal organizations are carrying on their business openly, just like the police stations carry on with their normal routine activities. Now the people are scared to send their daughters to school, and office workers and employees are afraid of going to their offices. Farroqabad is a good example of criminals. Only one landlord lives in this area and his land is less than 15 squares. There are practically no industries in this area. Only 3 percent of the people are businessmen, and the rest of the people belong to the poor class. Most of the middle class people have become criminals. If detailed examples of other cities were to be given, a whole book could be written.

The industries installed in the Punjab during the past 11 years have barely provided employment to less than 5 percent of our youth, and as such the rate of unemployment is the largest in this province. The unemployed people pass insecure lives and live in an atmosphere of hatred. They have at least the way open for them to become criminals, and then they join the rebellions.

In the Punjab, the moral crisis has reached its utmost limit. The relationships that developed in the feudal system—the woman is given the status of a slave and the man that of the master—are no longer. Now it is the age of modern commercialism, and all the relationships are based on commerce and generally men and women are considered as belonging to one gender. Marriage has become a way of accumulating wealth obtained from dowry and jewellery. In this age of commercialism, people do not enjoy the peace and tranquility found in the relationship of human friendship. On the other hand, there is an increase in prostitution and this profession, which was once limited to special locations, is now spreading to rich localities as well as townships. Some people who live in foreign countries have started prostitution in their houses as well. People are weary of this trend of life. They see that the government under which they are living, instead of putting an end to this profession of commercialism and crime is patronizing it, and its officials participate in its profits.

The IJI does not have any political charter and as such its elections and meetings are held in the form of business operations or police stations. In other words, IJI is a collection of police stations and businesses. The people who accepted the pomp and glory of the police station shopkeeping becoming influenced by the military law of "might is right" voted for IJI, but now since the majority of the deprived people have become tired of the wide spread looting of this profession the people have started rebelling against it.

The most significant psychological reaction of commercialism and crime in the Punjab is strangeness. Schizophrenia, depression, and loneliness are also increasing. Along with these psychological illnesses, the sickness of selfishness is also prevailing. This sickness threatens everybody, and the people often fall a prey to this disease. The confusion and disturbances that spread as a

result of this disease also affect everyone, and the cumulative effects of this reaction come out in the form of agitation.

The wealth that special people have brought from other countries has resulted in generating excess money. Prices have gone up, insecurity has increased, and the increase of wealth has benefitted the upper middle class. Deprivation of the lower class has increased and as such agitation was started by the poorer classes.

Urbanization too has created a crisis. The masses coming to town from rural areas returning empty handed has worsened the plight of the poor people. The government, during its 11 years in office, failed to eliminate their troubles and this too has forced the people to agitate.

Together with all these problems, the problems of housing, education, and health too were not solved even 1 percent, and insecurity and fear in every other problem in life went on increasing, so did the lust of the rich for money. And IJI, just like a limited company, continued doing business on these shortcomings. Bribery and corruption, plotting, recommendations, allotments, and license permits went on increasing. In Punjab, the violence that took place was for demanding political rights, not because of the criminals. The violent movements were started in reaction to the circumstances and the performance of the government, and can be seen in the various Punjabi cities in the form of agitation. This is a natural social reaction and can be resolved through political means. But at the moment the Punjab government is in the hands of nonpolitical elements who cannot solve them because they do not understand them. It can be said with certainty that these protest movements of the people will become more violent.

Commentaries on Solution to Sindh Problem

Urgent Talks With MQM Needed

90OI0213A Karachi AMN in Urdu 1 Mar 90 p 3

[Editorial: "Immediate Talks With MQM Necessary"]

[Text] Mr. Fakhruddin Abraham, governor of Sindh, has advised the new state cabinet to consider itself the government of all the people in Sindh since they were elected as party representatives. He added that the problem of factionalism is temporary and will go away by itself when the people find that they have a capable government. He said that establishment of peace and the eradication of crime would be given priority. He added that it is important to have talks with the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] in order to establish peace in the state. He concluded that there was no alternative but to work together. The governor also said that the cabinet members must refrain from making instigating speeches, since these make differences between groups become worse.

This was the first meeting of the state cabinet chaired by the governor. The strategy he suggested for establishing peace and harmony in the state was to start talks with MQM, the second largest party in the state. These talks should be held as soon as possible. According to the governor, there is no alternative left for the two parties but to work together.

There were three MQM ministers in the former cabinet. The deputy speaker was also an MQM member. The agreement between the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and the MQM was broken as the PPP did not adhere to it. The MQM was forced to work with the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad—Islamic Democratic Alliance]. Now they all must admit that some mistakes were made, and the instigating statements made against each other widened the chasm of hate between the two parties. The innocent people of Sindh had to suffer the results of this. Too many mistakes have been made and too many important issues have been neglected, and these should not be repeated.

Mr. Aftab Shahban Mirani, Sindh's chief minister, has also said that his government's first priority was to establish peace in the state and develop a harmonious relationship among all parties. He has appointed a young legislative assembly member minister of internal affairs. This indicates that they have already started fixing the administrative machinery of Sindh, which is responsible for establishing peace in the state.

In her recent visit to Karachi, Prime Minister Bhutto said that the first reason for changes in Sindh's administration was her concern about the worsening situation in the state. She thought it appropriate to give more time to the state party chairman, Sayyed Qaim 'Ali Shah, so that he could study the administrative situation thoroughly. During her visit, Mrs. Bhutto had also instructed the chief minister to work with goodwill and understanding. Even though she had not directly mentioned the idea of having talks with the MQM, she must want the end of friction between the two parties. She had deputized Mr. N. D. Khan to Karachi to contact the MQM leadership for this purpose. He talked with the MQM chairman on the telephone, and he is going to send his report to the prime minister. However, the practice of accusing each other has not stopped yet. This situation has become very bad because everyone has the permission to issues hateful statements against each other. This practice must stop at once.

The news about the prime minister and the home minister having detailed talks about Sindh with the president raises our hopes. The president has already praised the change in Sindh's government and has emphasized the importance of establishing peace in the state. According to our sources, the prime minister also had a meeting with the chief of armed forces. Now Prime Minister Bhutto is coming to Karachi again. All this indicates that they will find a solution to end the difference between the PPP and the MQM.

It is important to note that, for the first time in history, there was almost no opposition party in the Sindh Assembly. MQM's willingness to play the role of the opposition would help establish democracy as well as peace there. It is not a good idea for the elected MQM members to stay out of the House. It is important that both groups get rid of the complaints and misunderstandings against each other by holding talks. Without such a mutual effort in this direction, it would be very difficult to keep the state peaceful as desired by the prime minister and the chief minister. Also, peace and harmony in a real sense would not be established. The governor of Sindh had been talking with the MQM. Now, it is time for the chief minister and his associates to move toward this goal. There should be no problem in implementing good deeds!

All Party Dialogue Said Essential

90010213B Karachi AMN in Urdu 6 May 90 p 3

[Editorial: "Sindh Chief Minister's First Press Conference"]

[Text] Mr. Aftab Shahban Mirani, Sindh's chief minister, during his first press conference, told the newsmen that the border between Sindh and India has been closed and that he was ordering an investigation to see whether Indian terrorists were involved in causing unrest in Sindh. Violence in Sindh was occurring long before the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] came to power, and continued after the PPP took over. We do not understand why they want to investigate the involvement of Indian terrorists, since such an investigation falls within the jurisdiction of the intelligence agencies. Why did the chief minister think it necessary to mention that he wanted to have this investigated? We have some questions. Why didn't the government ask the proper agencies to investigate? If these agencies had failed to carry out such an investigation, then why didn't the government take any action against these agencies?

There is an important aspect of this situation. Why did the PPP leadership deny the involvement of Indian agents in the violent activities in Sindh? Instead, they had been blaming the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] for this situation. This also makes us think that the MQM allegation about its members being arrested without any reason could be true.

The chief minister did not give a direct answer as to why he was delaying talks with the MQM, and he told the newsmen to wait and see. The major reasons for changing the government in Sindh were given as the failure to establish peace in the state and the negative attitude of the PPP ministers against the MQM leadership. According to the Sindh PPP's secretary for information, the former chief minister and his associates were so much against the MQM leadership that nothing of any reconciliation between the two parties was left. Even after the appointment of the new chief minister, many party leaders and the federal minister are openly making anti-MQM statements. There has been little progress in

the government's efforts to have Sindh's governor, N. D. Khan, and Aftab Shahban Mirani hold talks. Azim Taraq, the MQM chairman, has said that he has not been contacted for the last one week, and that there have been no significance to the previous contacts made with him. Dr. Umran Faruq, secretary general of the MQM, called these contacts meaningless and said that one could discuss the weather with such people, but not business. Any efforts to discuss important issues were unsuccessful.

Now, the question is if the government believes that peace cannot be established in Karachi and Hyderabad without the cooperation of the MQM, then why doesn't it seriously try to establish contact with the MQM leadership? The responsible government officials should also remember that the MQM represents the oppressed and the deprived people of these cities. These problems will not be solved by sitting around a table and holding talks to end violence and establish peace. The government has to do something for the people suffering from the various problems. It must be more tolerant and understanding. If this government also ignored the MQM as the opposition party, just like the previous government, then violence will continue to increase. This will only increase the the unrest among the suffering masses in the two cities. This unrest could

become a permanent danger to peace in the state. Therefore, if the government really wants to improve the situation, it must seriously move toward meaningful dialogue with the MQM. This is long overdue. At the same time, the PPP must instruct its leaders not to issue instigating statements that hinder creation of an atmosphere conducive to holding talks. The senior leaders of the party are still busy issuing such statements. The speeches being made in support of the former chief minister, Sayyed Qaim 'Ali Shah, and against the MQM will not pave the way for the harmonious atmosphere required for holding talks.

The chief minister called the national level conference to establish peace as interference in the internal affairs of Sindh. He said during the press conference that he did not support such a conference. He believes that the state's internal issues should be settled at the state level. The former chief minister, Qaim 'Ali Shah, and the present chief minister, Aftab Shahban Mirani, have talked repeatedly about external and other states' interference in Sindh's internal affairs. Can Sindh legislative members stop this interference? This is not possible. The PPP and Sindh government must make a clear decision. Either they announce a national conference or no conference at all. There is no rationale for complaining about external interference and demanding a state level conference.

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